Empowering Words

Outsiders & Authorship in Early America

KAREN A. WEYLER

VISIT…

Empowering Words

EST. 75 1938
YEARS
THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA PRESS 2013

This page intentionally left blank

Empowering Words

Outsiders and Authorship in Early America

KAREN A. WEYLER

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA PRESS *Athens and London*

© 2013 by the University of Georgia Press
Athens, Georgia 30602
www.ugapress.org
All rights reserved
Set in Adobe Caslon Pro and Adobe Jensen Pro
by Graphic Composition, Inc.
Manufactured by Thomson-Shore
The paper in this book meets the guidelines for
permanence and durability of the Committee on
Production Guidelines for Book Longevity of the
Council on Library Resources.

Printed in the United States of America
13 14 15 16 17 P 5 4 3 2 1

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Weyler, Karen Ann.
Empowering words : outsiders and authorship in early
America / Karen A. Weyler.
pages cm
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN-13: 978-0-8203-4323-5 (hardcover : alk. paper)
ISBN-10: 0-8203-4323-4 (hardcover : alk. paper)
ISBN-13: 978-0-8203-4324-2 (pbk. : alk. paper)
ISBN-10: 0-8203-4324-2 (pbk. : alk. paper)
1. American literature—Colonial period, ca. 1600–1775—
History and criticism. 2. American literature—Revolutionary period,
1775–1783—History and criticism. 3. Outsiders in literature.
4. Authorship—Social aspects—United States. 5. Literacy—
Social aspects—United States. I. Title.
PS185.W46 2013
810.9'001—dc23
2013005553

British Library Cataloging-in-Publication Data available
ISBN for digital edition: 978-0-8203-4325-9

To Ronald and Shirley Weyler,
who took me to the library every week of my childhood

This page intentionally left blank

Contents

List of Illustrations *ix*
Acknowledgments *xi*

INTRODUCTION
Outsider Authorship in Early America *1*

ONE
Mourning New England: Phillis Wheatley and the Broadside Elegy *25*

TWO
An "Englishman under English Colours": Briton Hammon, John Marrant, and the Fungibility of Christian Faith *76*

THREE
"Common, Plain, Every Day Talk" from "An Uncommon Quarter": Samson Occom and the Language of the Execution Sermon *114*

FOUR
Becoming "The American Heroine": Deborah Sampson, Collaboration, and Performance *145*

FIVE
"To Proceed with Spirit": Clementina Rind and the *Virginia Gazette* *165*

SIX
When Barbers Wrote Books: Mechanic Societies and Authorship *204*

CONCLUSION
Uncovering Other Outsider Authors *231*

Notes *235*
Works Cited *281*
Index *301*

This page intentionally left blank

Illustrations

Pages from the 1790 *Journal and Poems of Margaret Lowther Page* *14–17*
1771 broadside edition of Wheatley's *To Mrs. Leonard* *34*
1770 broadside edition of Wheatley's *An Elegiac Poem* *48*
Title page to pamphlet *A Poem, by Phillis* *49*
Broadside edition of *Phillis's Poem on the Death of Mr. Whitefield* *54*
Cover illustration of Wheatley from *Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack* *64*
1816 broadside *Dreadful Riot on Negro Hill!* *70*
1824 broadside *Hard Scrabble* *73*
Title page of *A Narrative of . . . Briton Hammon* *80*
Mezzotint of *The Reverend Mr. Samson Occom* *115*
Title page from a 1773 edition of Samson Occom's *A Sermon* *138*
Frontispiece of the Dedham edition of *The Female Review* *155*
Excerpt from *The Manual Exercise* *161*
Masthead of the 21 April 1774 *Virginia Gazette* *190*
Masthead of the 8 September 1774 *Virginia Gazette* *191*

This page intentionally left blank

Acknowledgments

I have incurred many debts while working on this book. I am truly fortunate in my colleagues in the English Department at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. The Americanist faculty—Tony Cuda, Sally Ann Ferguson, Karen Kilcup, Christian Moraru, Noelle Morrissette, Mark Rifkin, Scott Romine, and María Sánchez—offered encouragement and enlightening conversation. Jennifer Keith invited me to speak about Phillis Wheatley and the elegy on a conference panel and helped me think about the larger cultural role of the elegy in Anglo-American culture. Jen Feather and Michelle Dowd invited me to speak about my project at a faculty brown bag luncheon, and Chris Hodgkins invited me to discuss the print revolution at an Atlantic World Research Network colloquium. The conversations that emerged from these presentations were immensely beneficial. Along with many cups of tea, I shared drafts of chapters from this book with my writing group: Mary Ellis Gibson, Karen Kilcup, Hepsie Roskelly, and María Sánchez. I appreciate their sound advice, warm encouragement, and camaraderie. Karen Kilcup is the driving force behind our writing group, and I owe her a special debt of gratitude for her generosity and friendship. Mark Rifkin took time out of a busy research leave to read and give advice on a lengthy chapter of *Empowering Words*. Kelly Ritter, who is a model of scholarly productivity, commiserated and shared Diet Cokes and chocolate. Other friends remind me that there is life outside the academy. Melissa Riffe-Guyer makes me laugh on a regular basis, gives me perspective, and always answers her phone when I need help. Felicia Wheeler's late-night e-mail conversations punctuate otherwise lonely writing sessions. Melissa Peet's yoga classes keep me balanced in all ways. Friendships formed at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill with Katie McKee and Susan Ryan sustain me. Philip Gura continues to inspire.

Financial support for this project was provided by a 2004 Summer Excellence Research Award, which allowed me to do preliminary research, and a 2008 research leave, both from the University of North Carolina at Greens-

boro. I thank Anne Wallace, head of the English Department, and Tim Johnston, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, for supporting those awards. I am especially grateful to the John Carter Brown Library for a 2004–5 William Reese Company Fellowship and to the Library Company of Philadelphia for a 2008–9 McLean Contributionship Fellowship. Norman Fiering's advice helped me tremendously while I was at the John Carter Brown Library. While at the Library Company, I benefited greatly from the counsel of Jim Green, Connie King, Phil Lapsansky, and Wendy Woolson. One of the great joys of working on an archival project such as this is meeting other people who share one's interests. I owe the genesis of this project to two long-ago summer seminars on the history of the book at the American Antiquarian Society, one led by Mary Kelley and Bob Gross, and the other led by Ann Fabian. When I wasn't able to get to the Virginia Historical Society in a timely fashion, Frances Pollard sent me a copy of Clementina Rind's mortgage. Kyle Triplett helped me navigate the New York Public Library's collections. Gaylor Callahan, of University Libraries at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, tirelessly tracked down interlibrary loan requests for me.

The annual meetings of the Society of Early Americanists are a pleasure in so many ways. Every meeting has advanced my research. Along the way, I've appreciated regular dinners and conversations with Lisa Logan, Michele Tartar, Lorrayne Carroll, Jodi Schorb, Tamara Harvey, and Etta Madden. Dan Williams's research has long focused on early American outsiders, and I've found his work inspiring. The same is true of Vincent Carretta's work on the early black Atlantic. David Shields's work crucially helped me think about the differing valences of manuscript circulation versus print publication for outsiders.

The generosity of other scholars had led me to many discoveries. I thank the original anonymous readers of my book proposal for advising me to expand the scope of my study of outsiders. Several chapters of *Empowering Words* had subsequently serendipitous origins. The mid-Atlantic regional group of the Society for the Study of American Women Writers invited me to speak about the circulation of eighteenth-century women's poetry in a program arranged by Cathy Saunders and Jenny Putzi, which resulted in a fantastic discussion that helped me think further about broadside circulation. While at the College of William and Mary for that meeting, I came across Clementina Rind in an exhibit of early Virginia women writers at the Earl Gregg Swem Library, which Susan Riggs, manuscripts and rare books librarian, had put together for our group. A few months later, during a Society of Early Americanists conference, Mark Kamrath gestured around us at the National Mechanics Bar and Restaurant

in Philadelphia and asked, "Why not write about mechanics?" Carla Mulford and Zabelle Stodola read the final manuscript for the University of Georgia. I deeply appreciate their careful reading and thoughtful comments. *Empowering Words* has benefited greatly from their wisdom.

Earlier versions of two chapters were previously published in critical anthologies, and I thank those presses for permission to reprint them. A very early version of chapter 2 appeared as "Race, Redemption, and Captivity in the Narratives of Briton Hammon and John Marrant" in *"Genius in Bondage": Literature of the Early Black Atlantic*, edited by Vincent Carretta and Philip Gould (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001). A version of chapter 3 was published under the title "An Actor in the Drama of Revolution: Deborah Sampson, Print, and Performance in the Creation of Celebrity" in *Feminist Interventions in Early American Studies*, edited by Mary Carruth (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006). I thank the editors for their work on those volumes. I also thank Nancy Grayson of the University of Georgia Press for her unflagging support of this project.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to the Weyler family. Without their assistance, this book might never have been written. My parents, Ron and Shirley Weyler, and my brothers and their families—Tim, Donna, and Angela Weyler, and David, Teresa, Paula, and Holly Weyler—host my daughters for a few weeks every year while I travel to collections and immerse myself in archival research. The weeks the girls spend with the Weylers are the highlights of their summers as they embrace adventure and learn independence.

Last, but not least, I thank Scott Romine and our beloved daughters, Olivia and Isabella Romine, for their extraordinary patience and support over the many years I dedicated to this project.

This page intentionally left blank

Empowering Words

This page intentionally left blank

Introduction

Outsider Authorship in Early America

Just eight years before Phillis Wheatley's image appeared on the cover of *Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack, for the Year of Our Redemption, 1782*, celebrating her as Boston's most famous poet, another enslaved Phillis languished in Virginia under much less fortuitous conditions of servitude. An advertisement that ran for several weeks in the January 1774 *Virginia Gazette*, edited by Clementina Rind, announces:

> RUN away from the subscriber, in October last, a middle sized Negro woman, named PHILLIS, and was late the property of Counsellor Carter; she is about 35 years of age, has a few specks of black about the lower part of her face, some scars on her breast, and has a very impertinent countenance; she was formerly the property of Mr. Morse, at Poquoson. Her common dress, when she went away, was blue plains. I expect she may be in Norfolk or Hampton. Whoever secures the above Negro in any of his Majesty's gaols shall receive a reward of TWENTY SHILLINGS from me, in Williamsburg.
>
> John Draper.
>
> *** She is fond of liquor, and apt to sing indecent and sailors songs when so. It is probable she will endeavour to pass for a free woman. All masters of vessels, and others, are hereby forewarned from harbouring the said Negro.[1]

Both Phillises were outsiders who longed for freedom. How did one Phillis grasp control of her print identity and leverage it to become a symbol of black potentiality, able to turn her love of song into valuable cultural capital, while the other remained enslaved and the object of print?

This question suggests a host of others: How did any individual, dependent on physical labor and lacking an elite background and education, electively enter into print during the final decades of British rule and the early decades of the United States? What degree of literacy was required? What genres and

print mediums were most accessible to authors outside the elite, and why? What kinds of collaborations resulted? How did one find a collaborator, an editor, or a patron? What roles did social, labor, and religious networks play in sponsoring authorship?

Empowering Words explores these questions by considering the participation of working people in print culture from 1760 to 1815. This fifty-five-year span saw a tremendous transition in the realm of print, as Anglo-America evolved from colonies in which printed material was both expensive and relatively scarce to an independent country in which print flourished. Even—and perhaps especially—during the era of scarcity, outsiders recognized the legitimacy and authority of print in influencing public opinion, and they saw authorship as a means to empower themselves.

Print, particularly the cheaper sorts such as the broadside, the pamphlet, and the newspaper, was the new social media of the day—new not in invention but in increased availability. As a technology, it enabled and represented social and legal power.[2] The less power and independence an individual possessed, the more enticing print seemed. Standing outside elite or even middling circles, these outsider individuals, often impoverished or marginalized by limitations on their freedom, grasped the profoundly social nature of print and its power to influence public opinion. Some people simply needed more help than others to access it. *Empowering Words* traces how they did so.

Empowering Words seeks authors in unexpected places, with the ultimate goal of reconceptualizing authorship and transforming how we think about and teach the literary works of early American outsiders. By focusing on ephemeral forms, such as broadsides, pamphlets, and newspapers, I explore how outsiders published poetry, captivity narratives, and formal addresses—genres with general appeal in early America. *Empowering Words* discusses individuals from a wide range of literacy levels; they challenge us to broaden our conception not only of authorship but also of literacy itself. To gain access to print, outsiders collaborated with amanuenses and editors, inserted their stories into popular genres and cheap media, tapped into existing social and religious networks, and sought sponsors and patrons. They wrote individually, collaboratively, and even corporately, but writing for them was always an act of connection. I contest traditional scholarly assumptions about collaboration and sponsorship, especially the tendency to assume that the most literate of a pair of collaborators was the dominant partner in producing a text. Disparate levels of literacy did not necessarily entail subordination on the part of the less literate collaborator. Even the minimally literate and the illiterate understood the potential for

print to be life changing, and outsiders shrewdly employed strategies to assert themselves within collaborative dynamics. By charting outsider authorship not only in New England, the traditional stronghold of colonial literacy, but also in small southern towns such as Williamsburg, Virginia, *Empowering Words* limns a more expansive map of early American authorship. To provide a context for understanding outsider authorship, I begin by exploring print's evolving status in early America, then review practices of collaboration, and finally trace the cultural tensions between scribal and print publication.

Print in Early America

The half century from 1760 to 1815 demarcates a period of dramatic social, economic, and political change. In 1760, Great Britain and the colonies were still embroiled in the Seven Years' War, the American colonies appeared firmly placed within the British Empire, and Anglo-American subjects affectively identified with the empire. Yet later in this decade, British attempts to recoup the costs of this war via colonial taxes would elicit angry responses, leading to the larger conflict over the right of the colonies to rule themselves. Print wrought the American Revolution, as it enabled colonists to imagine themselves as a nation before it existed.[3] In retrospect, the trajectory of print during this period appears triumphal, democratic, and inevitable. The number of newspapers in British America increased from 18 in 1760 to 386 in 1815, and the number of imprints increased from 349 in 1760 to 2,818 in 1815, as printed texts increasingly supplemented scribal publication.[4] Isolated sets of figures, however, do not tell the entire story. This upward trajectory was interrupted by the American Revolution. The number of newspapers declined from 44 in 1775 to 38 in 1780, while the number of texts published in those same years dropped almost by half, from 1,085 to 560.[5] After the Revolution, the number of printed texts began rising again. By 1815, the United States had a flourishing culture of print with expanding opportunities for individual literacy at virtually every level of society—with the important exception of southern slaves.

While rapidly increasing amounts of printed materials in the late eighteenth century offered writers increased opportunities for publication, such opportunities became available primarily to a wider range of free, independent white men. Women, the poor, the illiterate, the unenfranchised, and the unfree still struggled to gain access to print. Distribution of texts continued to be severely limited by poor transportation networks; consequently, a national book mar-

ket would not emerge until well into the nineteenth century.[6] The absence of a national market curtailed profits for publishers. Further, the possibility of authors profiting from published works was circumscribed. Nonetheless, many outsiders poignantly expressed hopes for profits, among them former soldier and indentured servant Deborah Sampson and freed slave Phillis Wheatley. Even well-received novelists Charles Brockden Brown and Susanna Rowson, both of whom maintained lively publishing careers, were unable to live off the profits of their writing. Most amateur authors optimistically, perhaps naively, aspired to make money from their publications, but few of them saw substantial profit.

Neither did the increased availability of printed texts sound a death knell for older forms of publication, such as the circulation of handwritten texts or the private printing of texts paid for by the author and limited in circulation by the author's choice or by subscription. Indeed, scribal publication, discussed later in this introduction, and subscription sales continued to parallel public printing in the decades leading up to 1815, for not everyone viewed the open sale of texts as the summum bonum of eighteenth-century authorship. The novelist Sally Sayward Barrell Keating Wood and essayist Judith Sargent Murray, whose families were intertwined by friendship and marriage, assisted each other in finding subscribers to fund publication of their works.[7] Like Wood, who published as "A Lady of Maine," and Murray, who published as "The Gleaner" and "Constantia," many elite women employed filters such as pseudonyms—sometimes by choice and sometimes by necessity—between themselves and the reading public.

Outsiders lacked these kinds of connections and could not afford either anonymity or pseudonymity. Under such daunting circumstances, it is a wonder that so many individuals rushed into publication and with such high hopes, but they did, crucially enabled by various forms of sponsored and collaborative authorship. As Richard Brodhead has so memorably declared, "no external disadvantage has yet proved so total that we can say for sure that it absolutely prohibits the attainment of authorship to figures as crafty and willful as humans in all known social grades have proved to be."[8] This study explores how and why, under such challenging conditions, outsiders sought to appear in print—"to enter into history," as T. H. Breen has phrased it.[9]

When I speak of "outsiders," I mean those Americans without the advantages of an elite education, social class, or connections, who relied largely on their own labor for subsistence. Although dependence on physical labor would forever bar even the most successful from becoming members of the elite, ris-

ing at best to "middling" status, outsiders were not yet members of a unified working "class"; that term implies a cohesiveness and collective consciousness that would not come into being until the nineteenth century. These outsiders shared another major characteristic: most experienced significant constraints on their liberty and labor. This circumscription was true for many lower-class white people of the era. As David Roediger notes, members of this group were subject to "[i]ndentured servitude, along with apprenticeship, imprisonment for debt, tenant farming, hiring out of convicts and impressments of sailors."[10] People of color faced these restrictions and more. Even those who were not enslaved were targets of suspicion as to their legal status. Virtually every figure discussed in *Empowering Words* endured limitations based upon his or her legal status. Phillis Wheatley was a slave and a subject, never a citizen, even after she was manumitted by John Wheatley. Briton Hammon may or may not have been a slave (as explored in chapter 2), but he certainly had constraints upon his freedom, first as an Indian captive and then as a captive of the Spanish. John Marrant was born free, but he too was held captive, first by Indians and then by impressment into the British navy. Samson Occom, a Mohegan Indian, would become an ordained minister, but he struggled financially and was not a citizen. Deborah Sampson was abandoned by her parents and indentured as a child, destining her to poverty. Clementina Rind was a free white woman, but she saw herself as an unwilling subject of British rule, and she died before realizing that female colonists would simply exchange one form of subjection for another during the American Revolution. Even the free white mechanics (discussed in the final chapter) faced, as young men, constraints upon their liberty and labor, as each was apprenticed into a trade. Taken together, these outsiders represent a wide swath of the working lower classes in early America: men and women; black, white, and Indian; enslaved, indentured, and free; northern and southern; and patriot and loyalist.

Although the poor and unfree frequently appeared in print in English-speaking America in the last half of the eighteenth century, they did so primarily as the objects of print: in advertisements for runaway indentured servants and slaves, such as the one quoted above; in bills of sale for the unfree; and as targets for prosecution for debt or laws governing the poor. The outsiders discussed in *Empowering Words* share the conviction that their stories, their beliefs, and their values matter; that print would be central in influencing public opinion on their behalf; and that demonstrations of their literacy—through publicly printed and sold texts—would validate their claims for identity. They saw print as one route to acquiring symbolic and cultural capital and to belong-

ing to something bigger than themselves, whether that was a community of Christian believers, the united colonies, or a nation-state.[11]

Collaborative Literacies

Although each chapter of *Empowering Words* is organized as a case study of particular individuals, this book is as much about the processes of collaboration and sponsorship and modes of textual production as it is about specific authors. Framing these writers as case studies in the history of literary access enables me to outline the challenges and opportunities present at particular historical moments and in particular genres.[12] Virtually none of the writers discussed here would have been able to enter into print without a combination of exigent circumstances and the assistance of editors and patrons. This synthesis of exigency and collaboration had a long history in New England prior to the Revolution. David D. Hall has labeled this form of authorship, especially with regard to texts appearing in seventeenth-century Puritan New England, as "*sponsored* writing (or literacy)." Hall uses this phrase to describe works "by ordinary people, especially women, that ministers who were learned saw through the press and framed with an introduction."[13] *A Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson* (1682) is a major example, as it reinforced the particular ideological and theological goals of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in the wake of King Philip's War.

Collaborative authorship in the late eighteenth century took different forms, but the principles of collaboration, editing, sponsorship, and patronage, particularly for as-told-to stories, were similar to the kind of sponsored literacy that Hall discusses, if more expansive. The more educated, wealthy, and technologically privileged assisted those who were less so, sometimes for profit, sometimes for religious reasons, sometimes for ideological reasons, and often for a combination of reasons. Collaboration and sponsorship were never disinterested; there was always something at stake for collaborators and sponsors. In turn, the recipients of sponsorship became authors, a goal that otherwise might have eluded them. While many outsiders were literate, they frequently lacked literary skills sophisticated enough to enable them to meet their rhetorical goals.

Assessing literacy in late eighteenth-century America is extraordinarily challenging, as E. Jennifer Monaghan's monumental work *Learning to Read and Write in Colonial America* illustrates. Differences in colonial law, the religious

orientation of individual colonies, the size and distribution of the population, and the relative wealth of communities—as well as the gender, social status, and first language of individuals—all influenced who would be taught. Several factors held true across all the colonies, however. Reading and writing were taught as separate skills, with reading taking precedence. As Deborah Keller-Cohen explains: "Many factors contributed to this imbalance in acquisition, including the importance attributed to reading given its connection to religious practice, the fact that reading was taught before writing and that many students did not remain in school long enough to learn both, and the greater expense associated with learning to write as well as with the technology of writing."[14] For these reasons, nonelite individuals often read reasonably well without being able to write much beyond their name, if that. This disparity between reading skills and writing skills poses something of a conundrum, then, in determining authorship of as-told-to stories. Often, scholars have assumed that elevated or biblical-sounding phrasing, particularly in works such as captivity narratives, must have been inserted by an editor. While collaborators likely did alter or add to narratives, being unable to write did not mean that one was unfamiliar with the rhetorical conventions or commonly expressed religious sentiments of the time. The vibrant oral culture of early America would have ensured that even those who could not read shared common patterns of discourse.[15]

Frequently, outsiders were technically literate in the modern sense: they could read and write, perhaps relying on creative or make-do spelling and punctuation practices. Deborah Sampson, one of the central figures of *Empowering Words*, provides an excellent illustration of how individuals valued and evaluated their own literacy. Her handwritten diary demonstrates that she could read and write reasonably well. Her contemporaries note that she was an able and fluent speaker. Yet Sampson consistently sought powerful interlocutors to speak for her in public, perhaps because her rhetorical skills did not match her imagination. Sampson might even have considered herself illiterate by elite standards.

Today, we use "illiterate" to identify someone who can neither read nor write. In the late eighteenth century, however, the word "*illiterate* was widely used to mean 'unlettered, untaught, unlearned.'" Illiteracy, then, generally indicated that someone was "poorly educated,"[16] rather than entirely uneducated. When used by the elite, the label "illiterate" imposed boundaries between the well educated and the indifferently educated, between the highly literate and the functionally literate, between the formally educated and the autodidact, and between the rhetorically sophisticated and the unsophisticated. Where outsid-

ers tended to be largely self-taught, the privileges of the elite included Latin schools, writing masters, tutors, and, for men, colleges. Literacy was even used to distinguish between the orthodox and the free thinker. In specifically religious contexts, David D. Hall has shown, the orthodox often used "illiterate" as an epithet to condemn those who interpreted the Bible in a way they deemed illegitimate.[17] Given this slippage in the meaning of illiterate between the eighteenth century and the twenty-first, I have not found it to be an especially useful term. Rather than speculate whether or not individuals were literate or illiterate, a more productive approach will be to ask what *degree* of literacy might have enabled them to meet their rhetorical goals, and how literary patronage and sponsorship in the broadest sense might have facilitated those goals.

Participation in early American literary culture did not require functional literacy but rather a *functional understanding* of literacy and how it operated in Anglo-American culture. The absence of specific kinds of rhetorical skills in writing does not mean they were absent in oral production, a fact that leads us to consider what Keller-Cohen has called "the web of literacy." She explains: "The need to connect the spoken and written word and to look more broadly at literacy becomes urgent when we confront an 18th-century (sic) account of literacy." Keller-Cohen relates an anecdote told by the colonial printer Isaiah Thomas about the interactions among a barber who composed a ballad, a friend who wrote it down, and the printer Zachariah Fowle, who, knowing little of punctuation, punctuated the new ballad based upon an earlier model.[18] This example illustrates the collaborative relationships that were commonplace in a time when many people could read, but fewer could write, and fewer still had advanced composition and grammatical skills. Authors outside the elite tended to produce texts not as individuals, but rather as part of a "social matrix," as Keller-Cohen labels it,[19] which enabled the semiliterate as well as those unable to read or to write at all to participate in print.

Religious and voluntary organizations also played important roles in facilitating this social matrix. The Countess of Huntingdon and her Connexion, a group of evangelical churches that emerged out of the Anglican tradition, famously fostered an environment receptive to the publication of Phillis Wheatley's book in London. But the Connexion also created an audience for the works of black minister John Marrant and other Afro-British evangelicals, and supporters of that group likely purchased Samson Occom's 1772 execution sermon for Moses Paul. While the Huntingdon Connexion remains well known, other, smaller organizations also supported outsiders' publications. The mechanic societies that thrived in the post-Revolutionary era in northern U.S.

cities likewise supported the publications of their members, but they did so even more directly: they ritualistically oversaw the publication of the speeches of their officers, both to honor the individual and to dignify the artisan class, as discussed in chapter 5.

These kinds of social matrices were crucial in enabling outsiders to participate in print, to assert claims to identity, and to influence public opinion, as explored throughout *Empowering Words*. This book is equally invested, however, in questions of genre and medium. Literary innovation and experimentation—these were the purview of the elite in early America. The elegy, the captivity narrative, the execution sermon, the personal narrative, the newspaper essay, and the formal address were genres familiar, popular, and accessible to would-be authors. By participating in the conventions common to popular genres, outsiders, including people of color, found ways to enter into particular kinds of discourse communities and to frame their experiences so that they could be understood by readers whose social, economic, and legal circumstances were fundamentally unlike their own. That is not to say that those outside the elite did not put a distinctive stamp on these genres, but rather that genre was a vessel they used to give legible shape to their lives—their experiences, their hopes, and their affect—so that they could be comprehended by people from all walks of social and political life in early America and in the broader Atlantic world.

Crucial to understanding how genre facilitated nonelite writing is the material form of the text. Until the past few decades, the study of early American texts was largely divided among two foci: bibliographical study and literary criticism, with the latter focusing almost exclusively on the linguistic code derived solely from the text. Jerome McGann has argued that such a narrow focus on the linguistic code reduces literary texts to "machines for carrying messages."[20] The bibliographic code, by contrast, encompasses everything else: paratextual materials such as prefaces and subscription lists, the kind of paper on which a text appears, its formatting, typeface, images, the overall visual look of the text, its publication history—in short the kind of work that has been taken on by the field of the history of the book. By studying the interplay between the linguistic and bibliographical codes, what McGann labeled "materialist hermeneutics," we "thicken" texts and enrich our understanding of them immeasurably.[21] Such an approach allows us to evaluate more effectively, for example, the appeal of Phillis Wheatley's elegy for the Reverend George Whitefield, one of nearly a dozen such elegies published in the colonies. Wheatley's elegy went on to become an international best seller and made her a celebrity, in large

part, I will argue, because of the complex interplay among the linguistic code, the custom-carved woodcut accompanying her elegy, and the way in which the paratextual material frames her authorship. Wheatley became a celebrity not because of her book but because of a cheap, widely accessible, single-page broadside; she tapped deeply into a New England tradition of memorials, and she provided the common person with a tangible memento of their beloved evangelist, George Whitefield.

The medium always matters. If one of the goals of this book is to broaden our understanding of authorship, a corollary goal is to encourage us to look for authors in places sometimes overlooked. The editor of colonial newspapers is frequently referred to as if he or she were a mere compiler of extracts from other colonial and European papers. Newspaper editors *were* compilers, and they *did* facilitate the publication of letters, essays, and poetry. However, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the newspaper editor also generated a great deal of original material for each issue of the paper, particularly in the form of advertisements, obituaries, and local news, the latter of which dramatically increased in volume during the Revolutionary War. Later in *Empowering Words*, in discussing Clementina Rind's work in the *Virginia Gazette,* I argue that we should consider the newspaper editor as an author. There were at least twenty-five female newspaper editors before 1820; considering each of them as an author could dramatically alter how we understand female authorship in the eighteenth century. I contend we should do so, and we should explore other inexpensive media, particularly the broadside in all its incarnations, as rich sites for outsider authorship. Because ephemeral media were so inexpensive, these kinds of texts also offer the best opportunity to understand what outsiders were most likely to read other than the Bible and almanacs.

The Intersections of Scribal and Print Publication

While arguing for the efficacy of print—at least on the part of the outsiders whose productions are explored in *Empowering Words*—I do not mean to make universal claims about how print was understood by the entire strata of Anglo-America. Among the elite, print only haltingly came to supplant manuscript as the preferred method of sharing ideas and artistic endeavors in the period from 1760 to 1815; the rise of print did not entail the demise of the manuscript. The circulation of manuscripts was deeply embedded in early American intellectual life, and patterns of intellectual life and habits of sociability changed

slowly. In the earliest colonial years, scribal publication, the term that Harold Love coined to describe the circulation of handwritten texts that moved "from a private realm of creativity to a public realm of consumption,"[22] flourished as a necessity due to the paucity of printing presses. Necessity alone did not drive manuscript publication, however. Among the elite, manuscript circulation was dynamic, interactive, and deeply social. Scribal publication continued to demonstrate those qualities well into the nineteenth century, especially among familial and social networks, with networks often based on gender.[23] In the waning years of the colonies and the early years of the United States, a vibrant manuscript culture existed alongside the burgeoning print culture.

The rationale varied for early scribal publication of any text. Anne Bradstreet circulated her verse in manuscript form due not only to the limited access to print in the early years of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, when the press was occupied printing legal and religious documents for the colony, as well as the yearly almanac, but also because of cultural prohibitions against women's writing. The practice of scribal publication meant that copies of her work circulated in Massachusetts, enabling her brother-in-law, John Woodbridge, to take a lengthy manuscript to England for print publication, even though Bradstreet evidently had no such plans of her own. Her poem "The Author to Her Book" humorously captures Bradstreet's chagrin at being published without her knowledge, when the speaker expresses her angst over the unpolished appearance of her "rambling brat" in print. Two centuries later, Emily Dickinson would also engage in scribal publication, not because of the scarcity of print in her time, or because of prohibitions against women writing, but because she, too, appreciated being able to control access to her literary productions. She also enjoyed the intimate relationships that such sharing of texts cultivated, an experience epitomized in her relationship with her sister-in-law, Susan Gilbert Dickinson. Indeed, for Emily Dickinson, "The Soul selects her own Society."[24]

Historically, exclusivity has been a hallmark of authorship among the elite, although the form that exclusivity has taken has varied. When print was scarce, the elite not only controlled what could be printed in British America but also authored much of what was printed. But as print became more accessible and collaborations more common, amateur authorship developed in new directions, and the ability to *withhold* texts from public circulation also became a mark of elite authorship. Texts might be withheld from the public because financial returns from writing were not necessary, but more often manuscripts circulated privately out of a desire for secrecy and control of the reading audience. We see this desire for exclusivity in works as diverse as William Byrd's *Secret History of*

the Dividing Line and in products of club culture, such as Dr. Alexander Hamilton's *History of the Ancient and Venerable Tuesday Club* of Annapolis, Maryland. Both texts enabled their authors to exercise wit and engage in sociable practices with other men.[25] The goal, both in the writing and the sharing of such texts, was pleasure. David Shields has written extensively about the importance of early American manuscript culture, arguing: "The manuscript was the favorite vehicle of communication in several arenas of sociability until late in the eighteenth century."[26] Such texts were never truly private in the singular sense, as we might today think of a diary as being private. Rather, as Harold Love emphasizes, reading and scribal publication were "always communal as well as individual."[27] They united "groups of like-minded individuals into a community, sect or political faction, with the exchange of texts in manuscript serving to nourish a shared set of values."[28] Publishing anonymously bought authors a measure of privacy. But by eschewing print publication entirely for scribal publication, amateur authors created intimacy among members of their coteries and controlled access to their work. Scribal transmission played to and fostered intimate communities, whereas printed texts—while they might seek to create community or sway opinion—created imagined relationships between the writer and unknown individual readers, rather than among a smaller, select group of readers.

Scribal publication was a particularly attractive venue for circulating poetry, as we see illustrated in the commonplace book practices of the eighteenth century, wonderfully exemplified in *Milcah Martha Moore's Book* or in the manuscripts left behind by Annis Boudinot Stockton.[29] And yet scribal publication was not limited to poetry. Benjamin Franklin, the most famous printer of the eighteenth century, a man who had unlimited access to print, allowed his *Autobiography* to circulate via manuscript. Many of Franklin's earlier publishing projects, which included newspapers, almanacs, and government printing, participated in the widespread democratization of information. Franklin had established his reputation as an honest, industrious, reliable businessman through his labor, but his earlier urgency to make a name and money for himself as a printer had passed. As an elderly statesman, long since retired from the printing business, Franklin evidently felt no urgency to secure his reputation via his *Autobiography*. Only after the circulation of the first section of his manuscript, addressed to his son, William Franklin, had excited considerable enthusiasm and appeals to Franklin for its completion did he write the next three parts. The four sections of the *Autobiography* were never printed together during his lifetime and were not united in their present form until the 1840s.[30] This series of

events illustrates vividly how scribal publication continued to coexist alongside other modes of publication, even at the turn of the nineteenth century.

While some outsiders did engage in scribal publication—we know that some of Phillis Wheatley's poetry circulated in handwritten copies—most outsiders lacked the resources and social networks that would enable scribal publication. Nonetheless, they frequently employed strategies similar to those used in scribal publication. For example, scribal publication in both the colonies and the early United States depended almost entirely upon familial and social networks to reach readers. For outsiders, early print practices continued to depend on networks of association. Although booksellers advertised Phillis Wheatley's poetry, including her broadsides and book, the sale of her elegies for private individuals in Boston depended explicitly upon a network of association—people who knew the deceased and/or knew Wheatley. Sponsored authorship, such as we see operating through the Huntingdon Connexion or mechanic societies, likewise depended upon voluntary association, although the networks were vaster in size. What these practices illustrate is that even as the availability of printed materials and access to printing presses burgeoned in the pre-Revolutionary era, older practices of sponsorship and sharing writing endured, often operating in tandem.

In the late eighteenth century, Margaret Lowther Page provided a striking illustration of these parallel processes, while also illustrating how those who had previously practiced scribal publication responded ambivalently to print. She was the much younger, second wife of the widowed John Page, who served as governor of Virginia from 1802 to 1805. In honor of his marriage to Margaret Lowther, John Page arranged in 1790 for the private publication of a slim collection of poems and letters, some of which were written by Margaret, while others were written by John and his friend, famed jurist St. George Tucker. This volume, which survives in one copy in the archives of the College of William and Mary, is fascinating in and of itself, but still more interesting are the extensive emendations and additions that Margaret Lowther Page made to the printed volume, emendations which suggest her dissatisfaction with the finality of print and her continuing participation in manuscript culture.[31] Margaret Lowther Page, in this sense, was like Emily Dickinson in "choosing not choosing," to borrow Sharon Cameron's wonderful book title that explores Dickinson's scribal project.[32] John Page was undoubtedly proud of his new wife's accomplishments, but Margaret Lowther Page seems to be struggling to make room for herself in the conversation of older, elite men, who likely saw her as something of an appendage to John. She commented on the poetry by John

Laſt of a noble line, ah! what avail'd,
That wealth and honor's on thy name attend,
Hoar winter's freezing power o'er theſe prevail'd
And bade thee to an early tomb deſcend!

Oh! much regretted, and untimely loſt,
Take from a ſtrangers hand this tribute lay,
Tho diſtant far from thy dear native coaſt,
Full many a friend to this lone ſpot ſhall ſtray!

And while each ~~breaſt~~ heart with ſympathy ſhall glow,
An uſeful leſſon ſhall thy fate impart;
Ye rich and gay! Ye young preſumptuous know,
How bright his hopes, and with a tear depart!

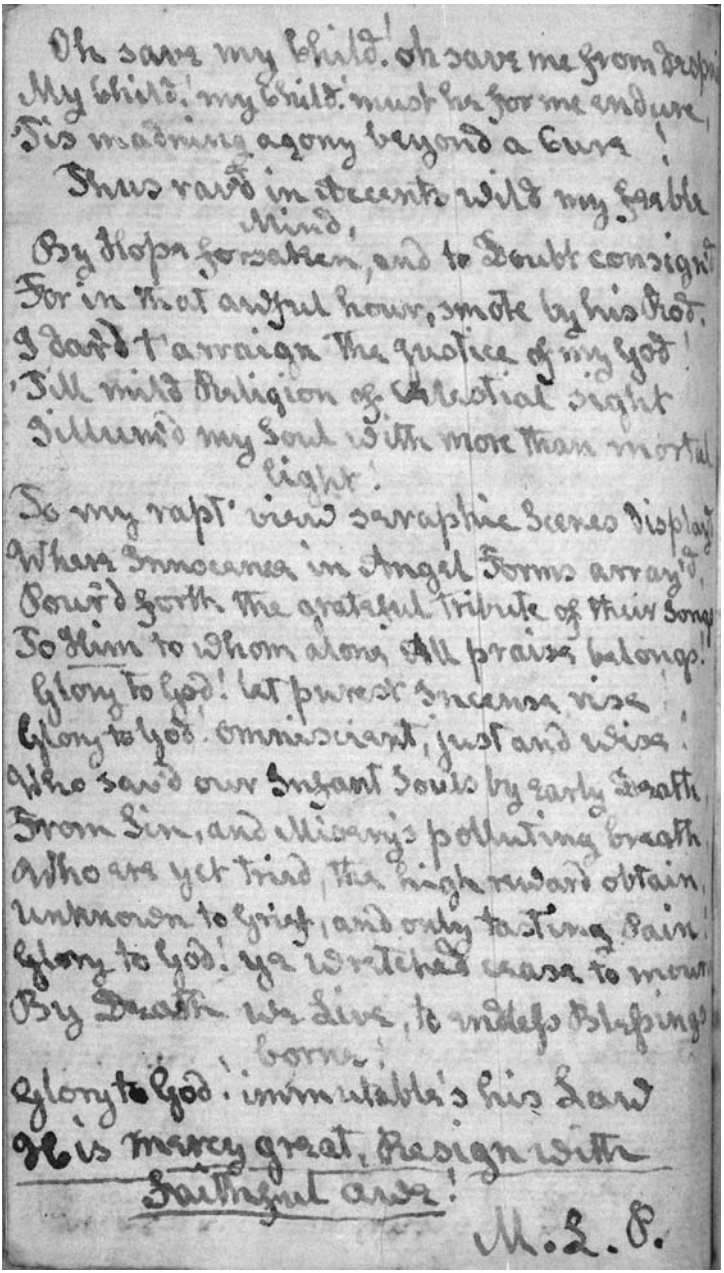
Ye guardian ſpirits! who protect the brave,
Since early thus you bade him life reſign,
Oh here, your vigils keep, around his grave,
And with his memory, his worth enſhrine!

Margaret L-r

Pages 26–27 from the 1790 *Journal and Poems of Margaret Lowther Page*, showing how Page blended print and manuscript writing. Special Collections Research Center, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

Written on the Death of my
Son John William, who Died
November 7th 1792. aged 4 Months.

Great God of Nature! Thou in All the same
From the lord Insect to the ethereal Frame!
Whose awful Fiat gives the general Doom,
Speaks into Life, or lays within the Tomb!
Shall thy weak Creature dare oppose thy Will
Nor bid each impious murmur to be still:
Shall She with bursting tears and struggling
sighs,
In sad repinings let her sorrows rise?
Alas! by Nature weak tho' born to bear
The Flesh will grieve when the Sinews tear
Tho Piety extend her heavenly light,
The Soul will tremble in "Affliction's Night"
Then Lord forgive the supplicating voice
That thus implored "the measure and
the choice"
If for my Sins thou dost chastisement send
Let Pain and anguish every fibre rend;
Let my weak Frame to dire Disease a prey,
Or creeping Misery waste its strength away,
But save my Heart, Oh from distraction
save!
And snatch my Infant from the yawning
grave!
My God! my Saviour! hear my ardent
Prayer!


Oh save my child! oh save me from despair
My child! my child! must he for me endure,
'Tis maddning agony beyond a Cure!
Thus raved in accents wild my feeble mind,
By Hope forsaken, and to Doubt consign'd
For in that awful hour, smote by his Rod,
I dared t'arraign the justice of my God!
'Till mild Religion of Celestial sight
Illum'd my Soul with more than mortal light!
To my rapt' view seraphic Scenes display'd
Where Innocence in Angel Forms array'd,
Pour'd forth the grateful tribute of their Song
To Him to whom alone All praise belongs!
Glory to God! let purest Incense rise
Glory to God, omniscient, just and wise.
Who sav'd our Infant Souls by early death,
From Sin, and misery's polluting breath,
Who are yet tried, the high reward obtain,
Unknown to Grief, and only tasting Pain.
Glory to God! ye Wretched cease to mourn
By Death we Live, to milder Blessings born;
Glory to God! immutable's his Law
His mercy great, Resign with Faithful awe!
M. L. P.

Pages 28–29 from the 1790 *Journal and Poems of Margaret Lowther Page*, showing how Page blended print and manuscript writing. Special Collections Research Center, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

The following elegant LINES, written by Miss M——— L———R, of New-York, to her friend in Pennſylvania, on his requeſting her to ſend him a POEM, upon the arrival of GENERAL WASHINGTON in that city, as Preſident of the United States.

WHILE deep-felt joy our grateful hearts expand,
To hail the HERO of our native land;
Say, ſhall a ſimple muſe, unſkill'd in rules,
Untaught in Grecian lore, or Attic ſchools,
Preſume to celebrate the auſpicious day
That bade our longing eyes their HOPE ſurvey?
The pleaſing taſk to nobler ſtrains aſſign,
Far humbler efforts ſuit, my friend, with mine.
To ſing in plaintive lays diſaſt'rous love,
Or the calm pleaſures that our boſoms prove,
When milder friendſhip ſways th' awaken'd heart,
And blunts with ſoothing cares misfortunes dart;
Such themes alone my humble ſtrains pourtray,
Yet H——y aſks, and I would fain obey.
Ah! then with partial view theſe lines ſurvey,
That but a faint idea can convey
Of what we felt when we the Chief beheld,
Who has in VIRTUE as in ARMS excell'd,
So long from our admiring eyes conceal'd,
Now to our ardent gaze at length reveal'd.
In Vernon's ſhades, oh! matchleſs man 'twas thine,
When moſt ſecluded, moſt renown'd to ſhine.
FORTUNE and CHANCE, may glorious deeds produce,
But HE who nobly knows how THEM to uſe,
Who having acted well his part, retires
Unſcorch'd by wild ambition's raging fires,
To the calm pleaſures of domeſtic peace.
And views, with pureſt joy, the general bliſs,
Unconſcious, that from him alone it ſprings,
The choſen ſervant of the "King of Kings"—
The man's divine—let angels write his name,
In the bright records of eternal fame,
Oh! glorious Chief! TO whom each heart pours forth,
The nobleſt incenſe at the ſhrine of worth,

Page and St. George Tucker, changed titles, revised her own verse, and added poems. In short, she edited an already published, supposedly finished work—apparently without ever trying to see her revised version printed.

The circumstances of the volume's publication and Margaret Lowther Page's evident dissatisfaction with that work and her positioning as a prize to be won by John—dissatisfaction embodied by her scribal alterations—suggest the ways in which eighteenth-century authors struggled to accommodate the different circumstances of print. While elite women were not true outsiders, even they faced constraints on authorship, and they were subject to the uncomfortable process of surrendering privacy, intimacy, and control over written productions to the finality and relative impersonality of print. Reinvesting in manuscript culture enabled Margaret Lowther Page to "talk back" to print. Like Franklin's *Autobiography*, Page's poetry book splendidly illustrates how manuscript publication and print publication coexisted.

While scribal publication continued to be a viable and important outlet for the cultural elite, it simply was not a feasible option for outsiders. Aside from outsiders' lack of access to social networks, paradoxically, scribal publication would have placed greater demands on authors' independent literacy skills. From a practical standpoint, scribal publication would have been costly, requiring the purchase of paper, writing implements, ink, and secure transportation or postage—all of which commanded a premium, especially in the 1760s as the colonists struggled to pay taxes to cover their share of the debt incurred during England's Seven Years' War with France. For these individuals, as counterintuitive as it may initially seem, public printing was likely *more* accessible and was certainly more enabling. If writing were not necessarily materially enriching, it did enable outsiders to claim for themselves various kinds of cultural and symbolic capital and to employ social, labor, and religious networks in order to accrue social capital.

Outsider Encounters with Authorship

I begin my exploration of outsiders in public print, not chronologically with Briton Hammon, but rather with Phillis Wheatley, who is the best known and arguably the most commercially successful of the figures in my study. Given her fame, one might well argue that Wheatley does not belong in a study of outsiders, that she turned herself from an outsider—an enslaved teenager—into a free woman whose poetry was so popular that her broadsides for private indi-

viduals were sold in the print shops of Boston. And yet this very transformation forms the crux of my argument: I begin with Wheatley precisely because her experiences will illuminate salient features of the publishing industry in the late eighteenth century. Rather than focusing on her 1773 book as the crowning achievement of her publishing career, the major emphasis for most critics, I explore Wheatley's earlier publishing career, tracing the circumstances that led to her initial fame when she rocketed into view through the 1770 elegy she wrote for the English evangelist George Whitefield. Wheatley found success in publishing through several key strategies. First, she worked through a network of fellow evangelicals that extended throughout New England and to Great Britain. Second, she focused on the broadside elegy as her signature genre; she found in the broadside an inexpensive medium and in the elegy a genre that appealed widely to both the elite and the common people. Participating in broadside publishing brought Wheatley's poetry to both elite and ordinary readers, expanding her reputation beyond the evangelical circle surrounding the Wheatley family and briefly allowing her to serve as the face of Boston via *Bickerstaff's Almanack*. Focusing on this early, less familiar, segment of Wheatley's career allows us to see the astute strategy at work in the collaboration between Phillis and Susannah Wheatley. Phillis Wheatley emerges not as a literary anomaly but rather as an outsider who was able to find her own voice in the midst of multiple collaborations and sponsorships.

Lacking Wheatley's education, literary skills, and ability to network among a group of patrons, Briton Hammon and John Marrant, the foci of chapter 2, worked with what they had at hand: stories of multiple captivities guaranteed to resonate in their particular, situated, cultural moments. They succeeded in print by mapping themselves onto what I call the evangelical empire—an empire based not in law or a political state but on affiliation and Christian fellow feeling. Hammon was captured by the Indians of Florida and rescued by the Spanish, only to then be held captive by the Spanish in Cuba. Although his 1760 narrative fits uneasily into the captivity genre, it was nonetheless guaranteed to rouse religious and political antipathy in heavily English and Protestant Boston, then in the grip of Britain's Seven Years' War with France. Hammon's ability to represent himself as a Christian "Englishman under English colours" granted him legibility in the colonial public sphere at a time when black men were generally legible only as property or criminals.[33]

Where Hammon's collaboration was enabling, Marrant's collaborative experiences reveal the potential pitfalls and tensions of shared authorship. *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, a Black* was published

twenty-five years later in the metropolitan environment of London. While it more neatly fit the captivity genre, Marrant's work also participated in larger conversations about evangelical outreach to Indian and black populations. His captivity narrative exemplifies the crucial relationship between oral and printed culture in the late eighteenth century. Marrant's oral narrative of his conversion and captivity experience, delivered on his ordination into the Huntingdon Connexion at the Bath Chapel, gave rise to two competing versions of his life story: the first edition of his *Narrative*, transcribed and brought to publication by clergyman William Aldridge, and Samuel Whitchurch's long narrative poem, *The Negro Convert*, both published in 1785. These competing versions enable us to interrogate the hazards of collaborative authorship, as they provided crucial incentive for Marrant to take ownership of his public identity. He did so in the expanded fourth edition of the *Narrative*, initiating a struggle that would occupy him for the rest of his life. Although Marrant was a free man, he uses the meme of chattel slavery to limn his own early struggles with sin. Reversing the usual association of Indian captors with savagery, Marrant shows the ironic freedom of faith that he found in captivity among the Cherokee. By expanding his *Narrative* to include a crucial episode where he ministers to enslaved blacks on a southern plantation, Marrant exposes the racism of some white Christians and reveals the true savagery that may lurk behind a facade of Christianity. Wresting control of his life story enabled him to establish his authorial and theological independence from Aldridge and the Huntingdon Connexion.

If Africans and African Americans struggled to be included in Anglo-America, for Native Americans the problem was the reverse: they struggled against forced inclusion in the polity. While literacy was empowering for Wheatley and Marrant, English-language literacy, intertwined as it was with Christian evangelism, was always costly and frequently culturally corrosive for Native Americans. The literacy experiences of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Native converts often inadvertently register as dark counter narratives to what is otherwise a triumphal rise in literacy rates in the British colonies. Patience Boston, a literate, Christian Indian who was executed for the murder of a white child, exemplifies the ways in which outsiders most often appeared in print in the early eighteenth century: as objects of condemnation, as bodies to be punished, as souls to be wrought upon by the New England elite, and as meaning to be made by that same New England elite. Boston collaborated with the Reverend Samuel Moody to produce a conversion narrative that was published after her death; she *was* an author, albeit one with limited agency. Chapter 3 pairs Boston with the Mohegan Reverend Samson Occom,

who exercised vastly more agency in his 1772 execution sermon for Moses Paul, another Indian executed for murder, providing us with two poles of Native American experiences with English literacy. Occom's *A Sermon, Preached at the Execution of Moses Paul, an Indian* captivated the popular imagination much as did Phillis Wheatley's elegy for George Whitefield. The transmission of Occom's sermon from Connecticut to Britain, like the circulation of Wheatley's elegy for Whitefield from Massachusetts to Britain, further illustrates that the textual manifestations of the evangelical empire flowed in both directions across the Atlantic. Occom found literacy and access to evangelical networks empowering.

For writers of color, religious genres such as the sermon or elegy, or religiously inflected texts, such as the captivity narrative, offered the most accessible route to print. These genres were most likely to be published in cheap formats such as broadsides and pamphlets, which facilitated access by readers at all economic levels. Centering our understanding of Occom on his execution sermon, rather than on his autobiographical narrative, which was unpublished in his lifetime, allows us to explore how a Native American author was able to appropriate a popular genre and access a vast evangelical audience. Used by clergy to explain and justify state-sanctioned executions, execution sermons marked the difference between insiders and people whose crimes had sundered them from their communities. While Occom's sermon supports the legal decision to execute Moses Paul, he nonetheless argues that New England Indians must be welcomed in the community of Christian believers. They can no longer exist outside the spiritual boundaries of that Christian community, for their exclusion and mistreatment threatens that community with sin from within. Through his understanding of New England's sermonic tradition and his mastery of Scripture, Occom surprised auditors who thought they were attending the execution only to see Paul reprimanded and punished for his sins. Instead, Occom used his execution sermon to point to the failure of the white community to put Christian theology into practice. His sermon thus spoke not only to the Anglo-American public but also to the Native public.

Invested neither in aesthetics, as was Wheatley, nor in evangelism, as were Wheatley, Hammon, Marrant, and Occom, Deborah Sampson nonetheless saw publication as the only means of controlling her public identity. In the wake of the Revolution, as the new United States became increasingly secular and diverse, nationalism and patriotism came to fulfill the affiliative needs of many Americans. A poorly educated, abandoned child and an indentured servant, Sampson desperately sought to influence public opinion on her behalf through

a series of publications: a biography, a poem, an address, and various petitions. Sampson's need was not idle. After masquerading as a male soldier during the Revolutionary War, an illegal form of impersonation, Sampson sought to convince middling and elite Americans that her actions emerged from an excess of patriotism under exigent circumstance. Sampson's publicity campaign succeeded. She won fame and acclaim and, most important for her purposes, a federal military pension. Where Wheatley and Marrant were determined to speak for themselves in print, Sampson adopted another strategy. Even though Sampson was literate, she chose not to write on her own behalf and instead, in a brilliantly planned series of collaborations, she persuaded powerful white men to write about her. Chapter 4 explores these intentional collaborations, which dramatically expand our understanding of authorship. Sampson's collaborators included Herman Mann, who authored a creative biography of Sampson and wrote a staged address for her to perform, as well as Philip Freneau, who wrote a poem on her behalf and drafted a pension petition, and Joseph Stone, who painted her portrait. Together, these written and visual portraits define Sampson as an actor who, under the exigent circumstances of war, donned masculine garments out of patriotic zeal. Her strategic use of intermediaries to speak for her in print was yet another performance, but this time of female modesty. Sampson left behind only a diary, a few letters, and several governmental petitions, but the limited nature of her literary remains is no index of her participation in print culture. Sampson exercised her agency not through writing, but by persuading more powerful men to write *about* her, a process that enabled her celebrity and now shines light on other as-told-to stories.

Unlike Deborah Sampson, Clementina Rind, the focus of chapter 5, was highly literate and possessed sophisticated rhetorical skills. The wife of printer William Rind of Williamsburg, Virginia, Clementina inherited his press and the *Virginia Gazette* upon his death in 1773. For thirteen months, she edited the newspaper, transforming it from a paper in which continental news and extracts dominated to a paper in which individual colonial voices flourished. Examining Clementina Rind's brief editorial career allows us to explore editing as a form of writing. Rind was no mere compiler: she independently selected which essays and letters would be printed, edited these submissions into a uniform style, wrote the news for the Williamsburg section of the paper, and likely wrote the majority of short obituaries and advertisements. At a time when pseudonymity flourished among newspapers in the colonies, Rind insisted on knowing the identity of her authors. If knowledge is power, she was

the most powerful woman in colonial Virginia. While profiting modestly from her own writing, editing, and printing, Rind also created a virtuous, public space for women as authors, editors, and readers, laying the groundwork for future generations of women writers and editors.

Chapter 6, the final chapter of *Empowering Words*, traces the rise of corporate and corporate-sponsored authorship via mechanic societies. In the wake of the Revolution, mechanics, independent and highly skilled artisans, joined together into professional societies to encourage members' social uplift. By providing multiple writing and publication opportunities for their members, virtually all of whom were autodidacts, mechanic societies truly democratized authorship and printing. Collectively, members wrote constitutions and bylaws, elected officers, and promoted education—mimicking, in many respects, the collective voluntarism of the nation itself. Mechanic society officers regularly spoke to their membership in formal addresses that demonstrated their keen interest in redirecting cultural priorities away from the values and mores of the elite and toward those of the highly skilled, independent worker. Although mechanic societies professed to seek a respectable, patriotic corporate identity for society members based on their civic utility and a message of social uplift, they also served as launching pads for individual authors, such as the barber John Howland, the farmer-turned-printer Joseph T. Buckingham, and the printer-turned-politician Benjamin Russell. In formal society addresses, these authors dignified the labor of the artisan, celebrated his national economic importance, argued for public education, and firmly located the mechanic in the national imaginary as the harbinger of modernity. The publication of their addresses at the behest of their respective mechanic societies became a sign of their empowerment, rather than a route to such power. Each man would go on to have an important public career in nineteenth-century America, but the base of each man's career was service to his fellow mechanics.

Taken together, the literacy experiences and publishing strategies of outsiders make it possible for us to broaden our understanding of authorship. *Empowering Words* advocates understanding authorship not as a singular act, but as a process—a process that for outsiders was almost always collaborative, sponsored, and even collective. Such an understanding will enable us to identify more authors in overlooked venues, such as the editorial work of dozens of colonial newspaper editors, the productions of mechanic societies, and the proceedings of hundreds of benevolent, charitable, and religious societies that sprang up in the wake of the American Revolution. It will also facilitate a

subtler appreciation of nineteenth-century outsider authors, such as Harriet Wilson and Frederick Douglass, who, almost a half century after the boundaries of my study, still needed to locate editors, collaborators, sponsors, and subscribers in order to appear in print. To begin, however, we must turn first to the experiences of Phillis Wheatley, who established a definitive roadmap for outsider authorship.

Chapter 1

Mourning New England

Phillis Wheatley and the Broadside Elegy

Phillis Wheatley is the most renowned of the figures in *Empowering Words*, crossing and recrossing traditional disciplinary boundaries among American, African American, and British literature and women's studies, just as Wheatley herself traversed the Atlantic, moving from Africa to America, to England, and back to America. The circulation of Wheatley's physical body, her texts, and her reputation suggests the rich complexity of exploring how and why Wheatley entered into print as she did. Wheatley's remarkable journeys earned the admiration of her contemporaries and made her an enduring symbol of the potentiality of Africans. As such, she functions as a wonderful test case against which to study the experiences of her contemporaries with print culture.

In the iconization of Wheatley, we have lost a valuable perspective. I do not mean that the adulation of Wheatley in her time and ours is undeserved. But rather, by focusing on her uniqueness and her "firstness"—as the first African American woman to publish her work or as the first African American to publish a volume of poetry—we risk losing sight of Wheatley's aesthetic skill and the fact that she was in some ways *not* unique.[1] She shared many of the same liabilities as her impoverished, powerless contemporaries, whether black, white, or Native American, male or female, and consequently at times exercised similar strategies for finding her way into print and using her "printedness"—her enduring status as an author and participant in literate culture—to develop an individual identity. Putting Wheatley in such a context does not diminish her achievements; rather it reveals the fluid, tumultuous, and contingent nature of printedness in early America as the poor and the unfree sought to use print for their own purposes, rather than be the objects of discussion by others. And yet situating Wheatley into such a context does reveal how remarkably persistent and successful she was in pursuing printedness, first through broadside and periodical publications, and later through her book of poems, although, as

I will argue, it is important to acknowledge that she published in the broadside format throughout her short life.

Why was Wheatley markedly more successful and sophisticated in her use of print than most of her peers? Why did Wheatley, unlike her literary forbearer Briton Hammon, repeatedly enter into print? Why did she become more famous than her peers? What set of strategies did Wheatley use to establish herself as an individual in the public sphere? Why is her poetry anthologized today rather than that of, say, her near-contemporary Jonathan Plummer, a white man who was likewise poor, lacked formal education, was scorned and ridiculed for his appearance and mannerisms, and yet who published, at Daniel Williams's count, nearly fifty broadsides,[2] many of them elegies? Why don't we teach with the same frequency the works of Lemuel Haynes, a New England African American minister who first published an elegy, followed by a number of sermons? The easy, initial response to these questions is that Wheatley's status as a simultaneously anomalous but representative figure of blackness and femaleness in early America drives her presence on college syllabi, while her poems themselves endure as unique aesthetic artifacts.

While there is much truth to these assertions, the rise of Wheatley's public reputation in her own lifetime had much more to do with *how* she used printedness than with the biological facts of her blackness or her sex. Briton Hammon, John Marrant, Jupiter Hammon, Lemuel Haynes, Benjamin Banneker, and Prince Hall all entered into print, but none of these African American contemporaries of Wheatley achieved anywhere near her renown, even though some were well known in their own right, especially Prince Hall with regard to his work with the black Masons and his efforts to create a black counter public sphere. It was Wheatley who came to represent the potentiality of Africans, in the minds of other African Americans as well as her white readers in America and abroad, both in her own time and in the decades after her death.

A key element in Wheatley's success was her employment of the broadside elegy early in her career in Boston to create a public space for her poetry and for herself as a poet. With respect to their evangelical outlook, Wheatley's elegies are not especially different from those written throughout eighteenth-century New England, and that familiarity worked in her favor. And yet in other key respects, Wheatley attempted something very different with her elegies, most notably by selling elegies written for and about private individuals, which was virtually unheard of in that time, suggesting the degree to which she had achieved celebrity in New England. Although Wheatley's elegies have been discussed extensively by scholars as elegies, most usefully, for my pur-

poses, by Max Cavitch, Paula Bennett, Mukhtar Ali Isani, Gregory Rigsby, and Joanna Brooks, and although much attention has been paid to the process by which Wheatley's public reputation was transformed by the publication of her book, especially by Walt Nott and Kirstin Wilcox, there is still more to understand about the early stages of Wheatley's career and how she skillfully and strategically exploited the elegiac mode, first to gain access to Boston's elite and later to spread her renown among the common people. Taking his cue from the attestation of authenticity included in her *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* and from a brief notice from the *Boston Gazette* reporting the return of Wheatley from England, Nott identifies Wheatley's book publication as the key moment in her transformation from "uncultivated Barbarian" to "Poetical Genius." Nott attributes this transformation to "her successful crafting of a public persona, her subsequent participation in the public discourse of her time, and, most important, her acquisition of a power such public participation entailed."[3] While I second much of what Nott has to say about Wheatley's participation in the public sphere, he puts the transformation of Wheatley's reputation too late. Without Wheatley's broadside and periodical publications, such a transformation would never have been possible; there never would have been a book of poems. Participation in the free-for-all of broadside publishing—especially in the elegiac mode—brought Wheatley's name to the masses, thereby expanding her reputation beyond the evangelical circle surrounding the Wheatley family and even allowing her image to stand, briefly, as the face of Boston itself on a 1782 almanac title page.

Ironically, the genre and medium that made Phillis Wheatley legible in eighteenth-century Anglo-America are illegible to some present-day readers. Focusing on the broadside context of her elegies enables us to understand them not merely as the sum of their linguistic code—the primary focus of scholarly study of Wheatley today—but rather as cultural artifacts that produced both linguistic and bibliographical codes, which simultaneously refer and defer to her personal agency as an author. For at this transitional moment in the regional publishing industry in British America, the personal agency of authors still mattered, especially in a town the size of Boston. This attention to the circumstances of production, the materiality of Wheatley's works, and her understanding of social networks will likewise shed light on the textual productions of other outsiders, as discussed throughout *Empowering Words*.

This chapter explores why the elegy as a poetic genre was so well suited to Wheatley's purposes, how she played upon its familiarity with audiences, and where and how her elegies as poems and as printed artifacts diverge from

contemporary works and publishing trends. In particular, I will consider how Wheatley used the elegy as a means of staging literacy events that involved her personal agency, her poetry, various patrons, and the reading public. Use of the elegy granted Wheatley access to the powerful, including those rich in social, cultural, or religious capital. Nowhere is this more true than her elegy for the famed English evangelist George Whitefield, the publication of which needs to be understood as a watershed moment in American print history. While her use of the elegy responds to the death of the individual—the generic death of the Christian—the genre also set the stage for making a young female slave legible to the wider American reading public via broadside and periodical publication in the years prior to the 1773 publication of *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*. And, while this increase in reputation did not generate sufficient subscribers to enable Wheatley to publish her book in the highly competitive and expensive colonial book market, it did enable her subsequent London book publication.

Before considering Wheatley's individual elegies, however, I need first to discuss the role of the broadside in early America, the evolution of the Anglo-American elegy, and the intersections between the two. Understanding the context of broadside elegies enables us to assess more completely the achievement of individual poems, each of which emerged from and created a slightly different rhetorical context. At the same time, emphasis on Wheatley's relationship to the broadside enables readers to see how this form that she favored and that so empowered her was turned against her after her death in the form of hateful "Bobalition" broadsides—texts which nonetheless tacitly acknowledge her preeminent status as an African American intellectual.

The Broadside in Early America

While the elegy has a storied history dating to the classical era, the broadside in British America is of more recent vintage, arising not long after the first printing press was established in Massachusetts in 1638. To grasp the marriage of the elegy and the broadside in the eighteenth century, it is helpful to understand the origins and purpose of the broadside as well as how use of the broadside shaped mourning practices—circumstances that would enable Phillis Wheatley's meteoric rise to prominence.

The broadside is a medium, rather than a genre, but the cheapness of the medium made it available to a broad audience and determined its content in crucial ways. Ola Elizabeth Winslow, one of the earliest generation of scholars to

pay special attention to the American broadside, once described the broadside as "merely a medium of circulation, restricted to timely subjects of an urgent nature."[4] The broadside, however, is much more than a transparent medium. By the term "broadside," librarians, bibliographers, and other specialists in early American printing simply indicate single, one-sided sheets of printed matter, usually reserving the term "broadsheet" to represent those works printed on both sides of a piece of paper. For early printers, printing on only one side of a paper required less technical skill and was easier and less time-consuming. Consequently, the broadside represented a quick, inexpensive means of communicating information to large numbers of people. Broadsides tend to be both occasional and ephemeral. The broadside format was particularly well-suited to the printing of government proclamations, advertisements, ballads, and criminal confessions, as well as elegies—documents that depended on timeliness and brevity.[5] The broadside thus served purposes both high and low, with creators and "consumers"—because one did not need to be literate to be a consumer of broadsides—crossing classes, races, ethnicities, gender, and political affiliations, with locality being the common denominator. In *Massachusetts Broadsides of the American Revolution*, Mason Lowance Jr. emphasizes the contextual nature of the broadside: "As a literary form which responds to a need for immediacy and urgency, and requires stylistic compression, the broadside must be viewed with concern for the specific circumstances out of which it generates. Viewed from this historical perspective, the broadside can become a window to much larger and wide-ranging events, and in some cases, can provide insight into the attitudes and values of a local group."[6] Their indebtedness to locality is one of their virtues, as broadsides invoke a communal context.

The historical and material circumstances of the broadside crucially produced its contents: the spatial limitations of the text and the brevity it encouraged, its cheapness and timeliness, and its suitability for decoration all shaped what could be written, how it would be understood, how quickly it could be produced, and what it would mean to readers at any given historical moment. At the same time, its very brevity facilitated complex interplay between the bibliographic and linguistic codes. These factors made the broadside more accessible and inviting to authors and readers of limited social, economic, and literary capital than any other form. Scholars interested in how outsiders read and participated in print would do well to start with the broadside because of its far-reaching availability.

For, unlike longer, book-length works, which could take months to compose, develop subscription lists, and print, broadsides could be quickly composed, printed, and sold or distributed. For these reasons, broadsides tend to

capture the spirit of the moment. Nongovernmental broadsides in particular—especially ballads, advertisements, criminal narratives, and poetry—tend to be representative of the life of the broader community, rather than the elite. Printers sometimes printed broadsides at their own expense and sold them in their printing offices, but more often than not broadsides were the product of job printing, paid for by the government, an author, or a third party, such as a peddler or bookseller. Government printing jobs could be quite lucrative for the printer. Printing small jobs on demand for customers made less money, even though collectively these small jobs were the mainstay of many presses. For broadsides that were privately printed—that is, those for which an individual commissioned the printer—publishers, the author, peddler, or bookseller assumed the rewards and risks of selling or failing to sell the broadside. Printers might or might not include their name on a particular broadside. On the one hand, inclusion of a printer's name advertised his wares and services, and most texts that were intended to be sold through the printer or a bookseller would thus include the printer's or publisher's name. On the other hand, printers might not wish to be associated with scurrilous or partisan texts. Given the possible permutations of relationships among printers, publishers, authors, peddlers, and booksellers, early American broadsides greatly expanded the opportunities for the nonelite to participate in print culture in its broadest sense.

While it can be difficult to disentangle the authorship, publishing, and printing history of any particular broadside, tracing the end uses of broadsides is even more difficult, due to their ephemeral nature. Certainly, the common folk were more likely to have access to broadsides than to books. This accessibility makes Phillis Wheatley's broadsides all the more intriguing, for her verse was more likely to have been accessible to common people—of any race—than the captivity narratives of Briton Hammon or John Marrant, or the pamphlet poetry of Jupiter Hammon, or the sermons of Lemuel Haynes. Her broadside verse definitely would have been more accessible to ordinary readers in Anglo-America than her volume of poetry, which was initially published in England and sold by Wheatley herself and her friends in New England; not until 1786, two years her death, did the first American edition of her volume of poetry appear.[7] For outsider *readers*, broadsides, along with the Bible, almanacs, and newspapers, might well have formed their chief literary experiences.

Perhaps even more so than books, broadsides were interwoven with the practices of urban sociability. Broadsides tended to be passed around from person to person and read aloud or sung, in the case of ballads, in public places. Often they were nailed or pasted to walls in taverns, coffeehouses, and private homes,

which was likely to destroy its ability to be a lasting artifact. Those with special sentimental value, such as elegies, were sometimes preserved by being framed or folded in Bibles or prayer books, especially if the subject of the elegy was a relative or close friend.[8] Still other broadsides were preserved by early collectors in scrapbooks.[9] Broadsides without sentimental value were often used as scrap paper, to line drawers, to wrap packages, or even for personal hygiene. For these reasons, scholars working with early printed documents agree that vastly more broadsides were printed in the colonies than are preserved in the archives.

The Ascendency of the Broadside Elegy

Before printed broadside elegies became affordable for private citizens, Puritans in the early New England colonies memorialized their dead through elegies that circulated as handwritten copies. Ola Elizabeth Winslow speculates: "Since early colonial burials were conducted with rigid simplicity as to ritual, it is probable that no ceremony attended the presentation of these memorials. They merely provided a silent outlet for the expression of grief, and an opportunity to honor the dead. Often one person was thus honored by numerous tributes."[10] Gordon Geddes argues, however, that the reading of the elegy was central to funeral practices: "Read at the house before going to the grave, [elegies] were then pinned on the hearse or pall for the procession, a mute replacement of the traditional singing."[11] Regardless of whether there was ceremony attached to the presentation of the elegies, they were central to the mourning process in New England, honoring both the living and the dead and offering a sanctioned channel for the expression of grief.

The increasing availability of broadside printing over the course of the seventeenth century made it especially suitable to disseminate and preserve the American elegy. Georgia Bumgardner notes: "The first elegies to be printed possibly appeared in 1647, honoring Thomas Hooker and John Cotton. No copies are extant but Nathaniel Morton included them in his *New-Englands Memoriall* published in 1669. Elegies [in broadside format] appeared very frequently from 1680 to 1730."[12] As one might expect, the earliest printed elegies tended to be written by educated white men about other prominent men—especially ministers, tutors, schoolmasters, and government leaders, although women, especially the wives and daughters of ministers, soon became the subjects of memorial tributes as well.[13]

After printing became more widely accessible, it was common for the print-

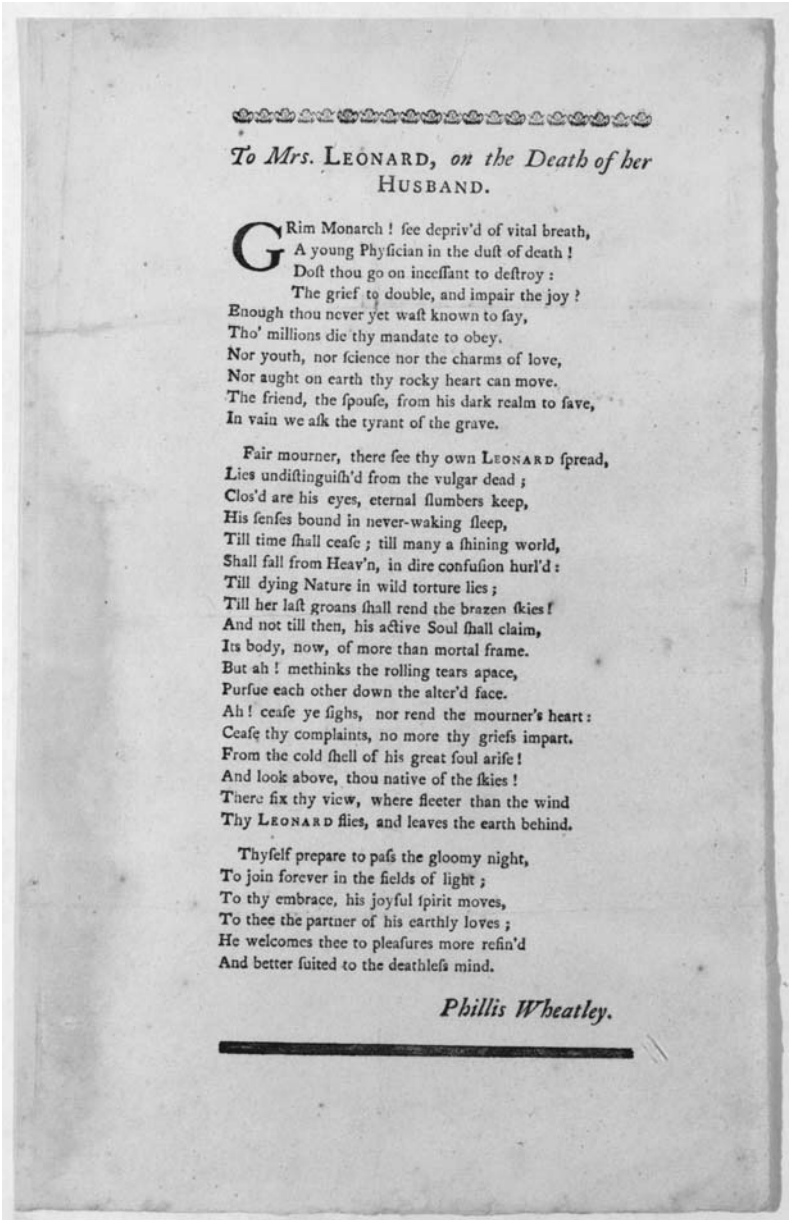
ing of elegies to be paid for by the author and for those elegies to be given away as mementos to honor the dead, to comfort the living, and to inspire the survivors to live righteously in hopes of joining their loved ones in the afterlife. In this practice, we see the rise of printing altering how people mourned. Indeed, David E. Stannard observes: "The printing of broadside verse celebrating the virtuous and religious nature of the deceased was a major expense at Puritan funerals, and the pages on which such verse was printed were most often covered with intricate woodcut illustrations similar to the images of death carved on gravestones."[14] Jeffrey Hammond describes the Puritan broadside elegy as "a stone rendered as a printed text,"[15] a description that helps us understand the material importance of the broadside. In a culture in which visual arts were rare, the readily available adornment with stock memento mori borders and woodcuts spoke deeply to Puritan beliefs, a fact emphasized by Allan I. Ludwig in *Graven Images*.[16] The elegy was more than a poem, and a broadside was more than a piece of paper. Taken together, they were an affective, spiritual, and material remembrance of the deceased, deeply valued and imbued with meaning.

Whereas in the early, close-knit Puritan communities, the entire community might have participated in the mourning process, thereby diffusing the sense of loss, in urban areas loss was concentrated in the individual's family.[17] Printed elegies therefore came to serve different functions in funerary practices depending on the era and the locale. Undoubtedly it continued to be flattering to the grieving family for elegies to be written about their loved one. Further, the ability to gift printed copies of these elegies would have helped cement the social status of the deceased and his or her family and extend the process of mourning outside the family unit, granting fame, however fleeting, to the deceased. It is important that we acknowledge the early social functioning of the elegy, for our understanding of these poems today is vastly different. Today we are more likely to read a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century elegy because of its author, rather than because of the fame it granted to the deceased or because of the way in which both its content and the materiality of the text served to organize social relationships. Certainly, this is the case with most of Wheatley's elegies; with the exception of Whitefield, the subjects of most of her elegies have long since been forgotten, important only because she did memorialize them.

Our experiences of the elegy differ in other important ways. Reading an elegy today—reset and reduced to standardized font styles and sizes on a uniform page and stripped of its accompanying visual decoration—is a vastly dif-

ferent experience from reading an original broadside elegy. Modern textual editing reflects critical privileging of the linguistic code of texts, reducing the broadside to mere words on a page and ignoring the holistic experience of engaging with a broadside. Jerome McGann has described such a process as "[studying] texts as machines for carrying messages."[18] Arguing along similar lines, Lisa Maruca explains: "The study of literature until recently has not been the study of *books*, after all, but the study of *writing*. . . . Books become merely convenient carrying cases for the author's will and 'work'—the abstract literariness—we read. In this regime of reading, the physical medium (page, typography, binding) is screened out through unconscious processes taught to us when we are introduced to the alphabet."[19] But this screening process was not always in place; indeed, readers of the eighteenth century were remarkably attentive to bibliographic codes. The bibliographic code, as McGann describes it, encompasses the physical text in its entirety: the kind of paper used, the formatting of the text, any images included, as well as the overall visual element of the text, a text's publication history, and so on—in short the work that has been taken on by the larger field of the history of the book. By studying the interplay between the linguistic and bibliographical codes, a process McGann labels "materialist hermeneutics," we "thicken" texts and thereby enrich our understanding of them.[20]

This thickening process is particularly crucial with the broadside. Although broadsides vary widely in size, many of them are oversized—closer to poster size than to our standard paper size of 8½ by 11 inches and certainly larger than, say, a novel printed for classroom use. The larger size makes a greater impression, but elegies also carried with them formal visual features that both decorated the page and put the reader in a suitably sober state of mind for reading the text. Even the most simple of elegies are invariably dignified by a mourning rule, a thick black border used to indicate death; often the mourning rule outlined the elegy, but it might also appear below the poem or be used to divide a large page into columns. Before a reader read the first word on a page, the familiar, sober visual decoration would signal *how* the text should be read. More elaborate broadsides might include a headband (a running design across the top of the page) or a tailpiece to decorate the end. Still others might use decorative alphabet blocks for the initial letters of words. The fanciest elegies might include a woodcut. Usually these were stock woodcuts, ordered from England or carved in individual shops, used repeatedly and handed down or sold off until they became so worn as to be illegible. But the most elaborate, the most special of elegies, might include custom-designed woodcuts.



To Mrs. LEONARD, *on the Death of her* HUSBAND.

GRim Monarch ! ſee depriv'd of vital breath,
A young Phyſician in the duſt of death !
Doſt thou go on inceſſant to deſtroy :
The grief to double, and impair the joy ?
Enough thou never yet waſt known to ſay,
Tho' millions die thy mandate to obey.
Nor youth, nor ſcience nor the charms of love,
Nor aught on earth thy rocky heart can move.
The friend, the ſpouſe, from his dark realm to ſave,
In vain we aſk the tyrant of the grave.

Fair mourner, there ſee thy own LEONARD ſpread,
Lies undiſtinguiſh'd from the vulgar dead ;
Clos'd are his eyes, eternal ſlumbers keep,
His ſenſes bound in never-waking ſleep,
Till time ſhall ceaſe ; till many a ſhining world,
Shall fall from Heav'n, in dire confuſion hurl'd :
Till dying Nature in wild torture lies ;
Till her laſt groans ſhall rend the brazen ſkies !
And not till then, his active Soul ſhall claim,
Its body, now, of more than mortal frame.
But ah ! methinks the rolling tears apace,
Purſue each other down the alter'd face.
Ah ! ceaſe ye ſighs, nor rend the mourner's heart :
Ceaſe thy complaints, no more thy griefs impart.
From the cold ſhell of his great ſoul ariſe !
And look above, thou native of the ſkies !
There fix thy view, where fleeter than the wind
Thy LEONARD flies, and leaves the earth behind.

Thyſelf prepare to paſs the gloomy night,
To join forever in the fields of light ;
To thy embrace, his joyful ſpirit moves,
To thee the partner of his earthly loves ;
He welcomes thee to pleaſures more refin'd
And better ſuited to the deathleſs mind.

Phillis Wheatley.

Phillis Wheatley, 1771 broadside edition of *To Mrs. Leonard, on the Death of Her Husband*. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Although initially the province of the elite, these decorative elegies gained enormous appeal across social classes throughout the eighteenth century as the cost of printing dropped; the increasing use of the broadside changed both the manner of dissemination and subject matter of elegies. Elegies for ministers and colonial governors continued to be produced, as they had throughout the Puritan era. But gradually the elegy was democratized. Indeed, as early as the 1720s, the elegy had reached such a peak of cultural production that an essay in the *New-England Courant* spoofs the genre, claiming that college men and "plow-joggers" alike aspire to be elegists.[21] All mockery aside, it was common for someone who had never written poetry to try his or her hand at writing an elegy for a loved one, for social class did not limit grief. Those who could afford to have elegies for their loved ones printed continued to do so; those who could not, or those who wished for privacy, circulated elegies in manuscript. Indeed, as part of the democratization of the elegy, in the 1730s–1770s, ordinary young men and women increasingly became the subjects of broadsides, especially those who had died sudden or tragic deaths, such as from a lightning strike or a fall from a horse. Whether the elegists were learned or not, their verse served as a memorial, while the act of writing the poem could function as a meditative device for working through grief and loss. Elegies offered a structured way to honor the dead and to channel the grief of the living into a socially and religiously accepted format. At the same time, many of these elegies warned readers to maintain a constant state of spiritual readiness, a theme expanded upon in the always popular generic elegy, which functioned essentially as a dialogue between the body and soul.[22]

By the latter half of the eighteenth century, burgeoning amounts of printed material and the rise of the opposition press further altered the broadside tradition, shaping how we should understand Wheatley's elegies. As Lowance and Bumgardner explain, by numbers alone, government documents and proclamations dominated broadside publishing prior to the Revolution: "But as the Revolution approached, the content of broadsides reflected a shift away from these routine declarations toward a new interest in the future glory of America once the tyranny of the British beast had been overcome."[23] Even those broadsides that had nothing explicitly to do with Revolutionary politics were implicitly shaped by the conflict and thus respond to its rhetorical situation. These cultural pressures similarly inflected the elegy. As discussed in much more detail later, the eagerness of printers to print and reprint Wheatley's elegy on George Whitefield likely had relatively little to do with Wheatley, who at the time of his death had only a minor local reputation. Rather, the reprint-

ings of the elegy had everything to do with Whitefield's international celebrity status, the interplay between the text's bibliographic and linguistic codes, and how Wheatley used her elegy to respond to the rhetorical situation of a people discontented with their relationship to the metropole. The repercussions from the popularity of this elegy, however, changed everything for Wheatley and, I want to argue, further opened the field for the textual productions of outsiders.

Wheatley's Whitefield elegy is somewhat anomalous by the standards of the late eighteenth century. By far the largest group of broadside elegies in the second half of the eighteenth century memorialized sudden deaths that were experienced directly by the larger community as tragedies, as opposed to sanctifying individuals seen as especially devout or publicly esteemed, which would have been the case in the seventeenth century. Deaths by drowning, house fire, or lightning strike were especially likely to be memorialized, particularly when several people perished at once. These elegies for sudden, tragic deaths tend to begin with a narrative section, setting the scene and describing the death and the responses of those who witnessed the tragedy. Very often they describe the recovery of the dead, as neighbors banded together to retrieve bodies from overturned boats or the smoking ruins of a family home. Recovery efforts often involved large numbers of people—usually neighbors but sometimes strangers—who, bound together by their traumatic experience, would then attend the funeral and participate in the procession. Some elegies have even stronger narrative elements, treading the boundary between prose and poetry, but they still label themselves as elegies, for they both offer catharsis and participate in the memorializing process. By virtue of circumstances, these deaths were already public, communal events that knit communities together, as opposed to a single, private individual dying of natural causes.

Poems in this category of communal memorials do not so much instantiate communal mourning as they rehearse or commemorate what was already a communal experience. A good example of this type of communal elegy is *Relation of the Melancholy Death of Six Young Persons, Who Were Kill'd by Lightning in the Month of June, 1767*, authored by the loyalist shopkeeper Consider Tiffany.[24] A lightning strike that killed six people would be news anywhere, anytime. The people in a relatively small community, however, would have experienced this event as a horrifying personal and collective loss, rather than as news in an abstract sense. Although this heavily narrative poem is not what we traditionally think of as an elegy, it continues the religious message of earlier works: lightning is the hand of God scourging and warning his people that they cannot anticipate the time of their deaths and must maintain a state

of spiritual readiness. For aspiring authors such as Tiffany, who also wrote *A Short Account of a Dreadful Thunder Storm,* tragedies represented opportunities for authorship.

Related to elegies of sudden communal tragedy are those in honor of military heroes killed during Revolutionary War conflicts, especially the Boston Massacre or the Battle of Bunker Hill; good examples are the elegies for Major General Joseph Warren or Colonel Alexander Scammel. David Shields's comments about the elegy seem especially apt here. He writes: "To enroll the community in its act of memory, the elegy amplified the community's self-regard, identifying it as the place whence great persons emerged and for whose benefit they labored."[25] Making heroes of the dead and melding political content with religious sentiment, these elegies tend to reiterate the sentiment that these people do not—and cannot—anticipate their deaths. Aware of the ineluctable and unknowable nature of death, the prepared Christian is always ready to meet his or her Maker. And yet these military deaths, directly affecting the soldiers over and under whom they served, suggest an even broader community tragedy, for the deceased sacrificed themselves in the struggle for independence. The function of these elegies is twofold. For the soldiers, they rehearse the communal experience of war deaths and mourn the loss of individual leaders. For the civilian population, they seek to instantiate this communal experience and to invest readers in the republican experiment. As Julie Ellison explains in *Cato's Tears*, the "Republican hero earns his cultural keep by justifying other men's tears."[26]

While socially permeable genres and inexpensive media could be profoundly and democratically enabling for individuals across class lines, the popularity of Wheatley's elegy for George Whitefield also reads rather differently when placed in this historical context. Whitefield had a sudden attack of asthma, from which he had long suffered, and died in relative privacy in the Newburyport home of the Reverend Jonathan Parsons.[27] Although the news of Whitefield's death spread quickly throughout the colonies by word of mouth and through newspapers, Wheatley's poem would both have announced his death, for those not current with the news, and it would have instantiated a shared context for mourning. In other words, it helped remind readers *why* they should mourn Whitefield. But just as Wheatley's elegy for Whitefield is not representative of elegies of the period, neither is her elegy for Whitefield typical of her work, for it took on a life of its own. As discussed later in this chapter, the majority of her poems, including her other elegies, represent very different rhetorical situations, aided by the growing commercialization of print and by the active partici-

pation of Susannah Wheatley in a series of carefully planned literacy events that would launch Wheatley first to local, then to regional, and then to international celebrity.

Wheatley, the Literacy Event, and Broadside Elegies

Viewing Wheatley's career through the lens of the literacy event allows us to understand that writing and publishing were, for Wheatley, profoundly social and collaborative acts. They were acts of connection. Several circumstances emphasize these social and collaborative relations. Among them are Wheatley's participation in impromptu composition for visitors and her authorship of poems at the behest of others, Susannah Wheatley's frequent interventions on her behalf, Wheatley's solicitation of patronage from the Countess of Huntingdon (again, aided by Susannah), and even the attestation by prominent Bostonians for her volume of poetry and her advertisements for subscribers for proposed volumes.[28] All of these factors emphasize that Wheatley understood writing and publishing as social acts dependent upon a network of other interested parties: patrons, editors, printers, friends, coreligionists, and readers. Indeed, the very form that Wheatley so favored—the elegy—is itself a profoundly social poem as it establishes relationships among individuals and seeks to shape how people remember and mourn the dead. Genre played a dynamic role for Wheatley in these literacy events, as the elegy became a vehicle for expression as well as a means of entrance into particular discourse communities. The public nature of the broadside further emphasized the social orientation of her poetry. However, seeking to make money from her productions complicated the social orientation of Wheatley's authorship. In that respect, Wheatley stands as an important figure in a time of transition in the American literary marketplace, for her goal was not to participate as a disinterested or anonymous voice in a marketplace of ideas, as Grantland Rice conceptualized the literary environment of the late eighteenth century in *The Transformation of Authorship in America*. Rather, she sought to make a name for herself as an author—an author who ambitiously hoped to profit from her productions when such profit was extraordinarily rare for American writers, especially of poetry. This account of Wheatley might seem at odds with the meek, modest Wheatley conveyed by the engraving included in her *Poems on Various Subjects*, but its authenticity is indisputable.

The most productive way to comprehend Wheatley's early career is as a

series of carefully staged literacy events, collaboratively orchestrated by Susannah and Phillis Wheatley. Prior to the 1773 London publication of her book *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*, Wheatley's poetry was available to readers in Boston and the larger New England area chiefly through three routes. The initial venue for the dissemination of her verse was through what we might describe as home-based sociable practices, with the Wheatley home serving as the center of Phillis's growing network of personal connections. She often shared her poetry with visitors to the Wheatley home and even composed some poems on the spot for visitors. This kind of impromptu poetry composition was common in the eighteenth century. Carla Mulford notes that Annis Boudinot Stockton frequently composed in this fashion, and on such occasions, her poetry was likely to be shared verbally and via scribal publication with the company.[29] The ability to engage in such impromptu composition, David Shields tells us, was one of the hallmarks of eighteenth-century sociability; it demonstrated the wit and skill of the composer.[30] We may reasonably speculate that most of Wheatley's early poems, whether composed in private or in the midst of a gathering, were auditioned for the Wheatley family and visitors or for company at the homes of Wheatley family associates. Phillis Wheatley also frequently sent manuscript copies of her poems to friends and acquaintances of the Wheatley household who lived at some remove, a strategy that allowed her to establish individual, personal connections with these correspondents.[31]

The other two means through which Wheatley shared her poetry brought it to the public eye. After this initial vetting by family, friends, and acquaintances, a second way in which Wheatley's poems were disseminated was through newspapers or other periodical publications. Frequently, especially in the case of her London publications, these poems were submitted by an interested third party, such as an evangelical correspondent of the Wheatley household. As Phillis Wheatley became better known as a poet, broadside publishing became a potent third means of disseminating her poetry. Usually, a combination of venues brought Wheatley's poetry to the public eye, but all, to an extent, traded explicitly on Wheatley's personal agency, or lack thereof, that is, on who she was—a young woman, an African, a slave, an evangelical, a prodigy, a patriot, a Bostonian. These identities are made clear in the paratextual materials that inevitably accompany her poetry.

Wheatley's earliest published poem exhibits this kind of staging. Neither an elegy nor a broadside, this occasional poem is titled "On Messrs Hussey and Coffin." It is an important part of her oeuvre, nonetheless, for its composition

and publication mark the beginning of a productive pattern for Wheatley, as she relied on immediacy and reference to local events to demonstrate her wit, sociability, familiarity with English verse forms, and evangelical faith. Hussey and Coffin were visitors from Nantucket to the Wheatley home who had narrowly escaped a shipwreck on Cape Cod. Inspired by their story, Wheatley composed a poem about this event, which was published in the 14 December 1767 edition of the *Newport Mercury*. Without Susannah Wheatley's intervention, it is unlikely this poem would have been published, for it was she who sent the poem to the printer of the *Newport Mercury*.[32] In this episode, we see the active patronage relationship that would continue throughout their lives together. In her note to the printer, Susannah Wheatley describes the circumstances of Hussey and Coffin's near escape and the composition of the poem. The poem was "composed by a Negro Girl (belonging to one Mr. Wheatley of Boston) on the following Occasion, viz. Messrs. Hussey and Coffin . . . narrowly escaped being cast away on Cape-Cod . . . upon their Arrival, being at Mr. Wheatley's, and, while at Dinner, told of their narrow escape, this Negro Girl at the same Time 'tending Table, heard the Relation, from which she composed the following Verses."[33]

It is important to keep in mind with regard to the literary sponsorship exhibited by Susannah Wheatley that there is always something at stake for the sponsor. What would have been at stake for Susannah Wheatley? Why would she have sought publication for her slave's literary production? Obviously, she was proud of Phillis's prodigious talent. As Vincent Carretta has argued in his recent biography: "The Wheatleys' treatment of Phillis enabled them to publicize their status, piety, and charity. . . . They demonstrated that they could afford to spare Phillis the drudgery one would expect to be assigned to someone in her condition."[34] Susannah Wheatley encouraged ministry to the black and Native American populations of New England and was already an active supporter of Samson Occom's work. For her, ministry began at home, and Phillis Wheatley and her talents were signs of Susannah's evangelism in action. At the same time, while Phillis was a quasi daughter of the house, she was not the white daughter of the house. As an African American and a slave, Phillis Wheatley would not have been subject to the same privacy concerns held by many elite white women in early America, who chose anonymous publication or eschewed publication entirely. Her work could be made public without threatening her delicacy because she never had any expectation of privacy.

Further, this poem allows Phillis Wheatley to display the relationship between her classical learning and her evangelical faith. She begins the poem by

directly addressing Hussey and Coffin and describing the sullen power of the wind and storm, represented by the Greek mythological figures Boreas and Aeolus. The potentiality embodied in Christianity, however—specifically in salvation and resurrection—renders the Greek gods powerless and the winds calm. But even had Hussey and Coffin died, as Christians they would "To Heaven their Souls with eager Raptures soar," and "Enjoy the Bliss of him they wou'd adore." With such assurance, no Christian need ever fear death, a sentiment each of Wheatley's elegies would reiterate.

Hearing of Hussey and Coffin's adventure was not the only occasion on which Wheatley was suddenly inspired or requested to write a poem in company. A similar situation occurred with "To Recollection."[35] Most of the reprintings of this poem in periodicals included a short letter from Wheatley in which she dedicates the poem to the woman who suggested the topic. The social nature of Wheatley's composition process was likewise emphasized in the first memoir of Phillis Wheatley, published in 1834 by Margaretta Odell, a descendant of the white members of the Wheatley family. She recalls: "If anyone requested her [Phillis Wheatley] to write upon any particular subject or event, she immediately set herself to the task, and produced something upon the given theme. This is probably the reason why so many of her pieces are funeral poems, many of them, no doubt, written at the request of friends."[36] William Robinson explains it thus: "Wheatley wrote most of her eulogistic and patriotic and even occasional poems for specific persons, often at their prompting or solicitation, and these persons saw to it that her work was or was not published, depending on the personal or political wisdom in so doing."[37] As support for his argument, Robinson cites a letter from Deborah Cushing to her husband, in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, dated 19 September 1774; Cushing tells her husband that she is sending a copy of Wheatley's book and reports that some of her acquaintances "ware so pleased with Phillis and her performances that they bought her Books and got her to compose peices for them."[38] Unfortunately, neither Odell nor Cushing specifies whether Wheatley was paid for these compositions, or whether she composed them out of friendship or obligation or a desire to expand her social network. Given that Cushing's circle was willing to pay for Wheatley's book, however, it is entirely reasonable to speculate that they might also have been willing to pay for personalized compositions, which would cast Wheatley in a far more entrepreneurial light than she is generally seen.[39]

While Wheatley's skill in impromptu composition might have already been well known among the intimates of the Wheatley family, the publication of

poems such as "Messrs Hussey and Coffin" and "Recollection"—with the details of composition included as epigraphs—affirmed for readers beyond the Wheatley circle and Boston not only Phillis Wheatley's literacy and familiarity with English verse forms, but also her fine manners and wit. As Carla Mulford explains: "The mark of a writer's genius was the writer's ability, first, to find the poetic form or genre most suitable to the message, and then, as a consequence, to evoke appropriate responses from readers while working within such generic constraints. By showing familiarity with the numerous genres and by demonstrating the ability to write poems in the variety of available genres, a writer displayed the learning, taste, and linguistic acumen generally referred to as 'good wit.' "[40] We should not underestimate the significance of these markers for an eighteenth-century audience, for taken together, they signified erudition linked with gentility, qualities that would, after Wheatley's death, become the targets of attacks by abolition opponents as she became a cultural figurehead for African American aspiration.

Although "Messrs Hussey and Coffin" would have been highly unusual as the periodical production of an enslaved person, poetry was a mainstay of newspapers and periodicals throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Often, poetry functioned simply as filler. In such cases, poems might be pirated from book collections or reprinted as extracts from other newspapers or periodicals. Subscribers sometimes requested that newspaper editors publish the subscribers' favorite poems. At other times, the kind of poetry published indicates the degree to which a newspaper was embedded in the local community, versus relying on extracts from other papers. Some newspapers published local poetry—poetry submitted by readers that invoked local individuals, events, or settings. Newspapers did not pay for such submissions, and many such poems were published anonymously.

If neither money nor fame was a clear motivation for periodical publication, what remains? Minor local fame might still have accrued for some, but participating in public discourse mattered. Opportunities to air written opinions, exercise grievances, express sorrow, and share aesthetic productions were certainly privileges, but by the end of the eighteenth century, these privileges were no longer limited solely to the literate elite. Functional literacy was not required to create a text; rather, authorship required a *functional understanding of literacy*—an incredibly important distinction. Understanding how literacy, print, and genre operated within Anglo-America was more crucial than an individual's composition skills. Coauthors, amanuenses, or editors were easy

enough to locate, but they were desirable only if an individual first grasped the valence of print and genre in early America. Thus, it is this functional understanding of literacy that truly delimits authorship in late eighteenth-century America.

With much of its context inaccessible to modern readers, early American newspaper and periodical poetry is little studied today. Paula Bennett's groundbreaking *Poets and the Public Sphere*, which seeks to restore that crucial context for women's poetry published in nineteenth-century periodicals, is an exception to this rule, as is David Shields's *Oracles of Empire*, which focuses on the poetry of empire from the first half of the eighteenth century. But often, especially with eighteenth-century poetry, the local disputes, scandals, and tragedies that captured the imagination and emotions of eighteenth-century writers and readers simply are not contextually available for contemporary readers, and so these poems languish in oblivion. "Messrs Hussey and Coffin" is a good example of this kind of local poetry. Absent Wheatley's authorship, it is unlikely anyone would ever read it, much less write about it. Had Wheatley continued to write only local poetry, her reputation would likely have remained local and temporally limited.

But a crucial fact of Wheatley's publication history is that her next published poem was an elegy—her elegy for George Whitefield, the most famous eighteenth-century evangelist preaching in colonial America.[41] Wheatley had written several other elegies in the intervening years since the publication of "Mssrs. Hussey and Coffin," among them "On the Death of Rev.'d Dr. Sewall. 1769—" and "On the Death of Mr Snider Murder'd by Richardson," and she obviously was comfortable with the genre, but these poems had not yet been published.[42] The extent to which they might have circulated privately is unclear. With her Whitefield elegy alone, Wheatley would have been guaranteed at least a minor footnote in literary history, but the poem gave decisive direction to the rest of her career. Given the cultural position of the elegy, there was no genre of poetry better suited for Wheatley to establish a public reputation. In crucial ways, Wheatley both built upon and transformed some of the traditions associated with the elegy in post-Puritan New England.

An understanding of genre and how it constituted audiences and reading practices was vitally important, especially for people of color, who faced impediments to publication in addition to those experienced by white writers of similar socioeconomic backgrounds. The most important of these was simple disbelief that people of color could be writers. A related difficulty was

the language barrier. While a majority of poor whites in the colonies grew up speaking English, with the exception of the numerous German-speaking Pennsylvanians, many people of color in the colonies, particularly those of Native American or African descent, learned another oral language first. Beyond fluency in English, what the nonelite had to master was not necessarily literacy, but rather an understanding of how literacy and genre functioned in Anglo-American culture. By participating in the conventions common to a particular popular genre, people of color found ways to frame their experiences so that they could be understood by readers whose social, economic, and legal circumstances were fundamentally unlike their own. That is not to say that they did not put their own stamp on these genres, but rather that genre was a vessel that they could use to give recognizable shape to their lives—their experiences, their hopes, and their affect—so that they could be comprehended by people from all walks of social and political life in early America. Further, genre played a dynamic role in the creation of literacy events, as it offered both self-expression as well as a means of participation in particular discourse communities.

Having examined the rich cultural position of the elegy, the various forms printed elegies took over the course of the eighteenth century, and the early dominance of the genre by educated white men, we are now better positioned to recognize that Wheatley was not unique in writing elegies as a woman, a person of color, or as someone from the lower socioeconomic classes. Many women wrote elegies, among them Annis Boudinot Stockton. Stockton published some elegies while keeping others private; however, even her published poems, such as the two elegies for her husband appended to Samuel Stanhope Smith's *A Funeral Sermon on the Death of the Hon. Richard Stockton* as well as others that appeared in periodicals, were published anonymously or using only initials.[43] The commonplace book of Milcah Martha Moore likewise indicates the importance of the elegiac form for a cohort of educated women; Moore recorded numerous elegies by Susanna Wright and Hannah Griffitts.[44] At the same time that Wheatley was immortalizing her Boston contemporaries, the African American minister Lemuel Haynes elegized his neighbor Asa Burt in a poem that was sold in Hartford.[45] While Haynes used this opportunity to mourn the sudden passing of a friend and neighbor in a close-knit community, the itinerant peddler Jonathan Plummer supposedly relied on elegies for their profitability. Plummer claims to have written and sold numerous elegies for his neighbors and acquaintances, purely for profit. How successful he was in profiting from these elegies is unclear, but in his autobiographical sketch, he

mocks his own literary efforts, describing his elegies as "hypocritical."[46] Prior to the invention of photography, when likenesses of individuals were both rare and expensive, and in a culture in which death was common for both infants and young adults, we can understand the overwhelming desire across all social strata and races to use the elegy to remember the dead. Conversely, we can see the consequent importance of the elegy as a vehicle for publication by other, less privileged individuals.

Despite the wide-ranging class status of elegists in the late eighteenth century, Wheatley was unique as an elegist in several important respects. Wheatley wrote both private and public elegies. Most other female-authored elegies, like some of Stockton's and like many of those recorded in Moore's commonplace book, were intended to be private. Wheatley was also careful to sign her name to all her productions, at a time when many women who did publish chose to do so anonymously or pseudonymously. Further, as far as we know, she was the only African American female of her generation to write and publish elegies. But perhaps most significant, a number of Wheatley's broadside elegies—including several for private individuals—were publicly sold, a rare accomplishment in the annals of broadside elegy publishing in the eighteenth century. This fact is made all the more remarkable because her later, post-Whitefield broadsides about private individuals were likely bought by people specifically because they were Wheatley's productions, rather than because of the individual memorialized. Such sales represent a remarkable tectonic shift in Wheatley's career as a writer.

America Mourns Whitefield

Of course, Wheatley's was not the only elegy for George Whitefield, who enjoyed enormous popularity in Great Britain and the colonies. Nearly a dozen different elegies were published in the English colonies in memory of Whitefield, along with several funeral sermons and hymns. Individually, these elegies range in style from the earlier tradition of ministerial elegies to the public tragedy. However sincere their religious sentiments might be, some of them are simply awful from an aesthetic perspective. Because these Whitefield elegies tend to be titled with some variant of "Elegy for George Whitefield," often without attribution, it is easiest to distinguish among them by first lines. English Methodist evangelist Charles Wesley authored one of the most important of these elegies ("Servant of God, the Summons hear"); it was reprinted in

both Boston and Philadelphia. Other 1770 elegies for Whitefield printed in the colonies include those by John Relly ("The solemn sound which now pervades") and Dr. Benjamin Church ("*Malice* be dumb! now sheath thy pointless sting").[47] There were also several elegies anonymously penned from 1770, with the following first lines: "Lo! ere the stars their feebler twinkling lose," "Attend ye wand'rers from the flock," "If when the keen, unpitying scythe of Time," "Since life's uncertain," and "Why throbs my panting Heart!" Most of these anonymous works had only one or two printings, with the exception of the last, which appeared in at least four editions in Boston and Hartford.

Given the wide array of elegies printed for Whitefield, what made Wheatley's stand out? For it was, without a doubt, the most popular Whitefield elegy in the English colonies, appearing in at least seven individual editions, some of which are lost today and known only by fragments or advertisements. The colonial imprints include editions in Boston, Newport, New York, and Philadelphia. It was also reprinted in several mourning anthologies in Boston and London. Wheatley's elegy was more popular in the colonies than even Charles Wesley's elegy, and it marked a crucial turning point in Wheatley's career as she and Susannah Wheatley grasped what it would take to make a black woman legible in the white-dominated, English-speaking world.

It is, nonetheless, somewhat of a puzzle that Wheatley's elegy would be more popular than Wesley's, for despite their doctrinal disagreements about Calvinism—Whitefield was a committed Calvinist, while Wesley and his brother, John, were Arminians—the Wesleys and Whitefield had maintained close personal ties since their college days. And, although Wesley had nowhere near the international reputation of Whitefield, he too had visited the colonies.[48] Further, Wesley would have been widely known as a hymnodist, for he had been publishing hymns for over thirty years; indeed his hymn in honor of Whitefield was well received and even more popular than his elegy, appearing in at least five editions in the colonies in 1770.[49]

Given that Wesley, in particular, would have had much wider name recognition than Wheatley in 1770, even in the Boston area, what would have made Wheatley's poem the most popular of the elegies for Whitefield? Was it purely a matter of aesthetic preferences? Was it a matter of timing, given that Wheatley's poem was published several months prior to Wesley's?[50] Would Wesley's Methodism have limited his appeal? Would the fact that Wheatley's poem announced her racial and legal status—as well as her complicated colonial identity—have given her poem a novelty factor? Booksellers must have thought so, for the newspaper advertisements for Wheatley's elegy include

this tag: "Wrote by Phillis, a Servant Girl of 17 Years of Age, belonging to Mr. Wheatley, of Boston. *She has been but 9 Years in this Country from Africa*" (emphasis in original).[51]

Certainly, the custom woodcut that accompanied most editions of Wheatley's poem made hers the most visually appealing of the Whitefield elegies. Produced by a skilled artisan for the occasion, the woodcut pictures Whitefield resting as if in state on a bier just beyond his coffin, which is ornamented with standard memento mori images, such as a skull, his initials, the date of his death, and the age at which he died: 56. The portly, barrel-chested figure definitely resembles Whitefield. He is dressed in clerical robes, a plain white stock, and an elaborately dressed wig. Drapery swags festooned with rosettes surround his bier. In "*Pedlar in Divinity*," Frank Lambert reports that Whitefield sat for a number of portraits, from which engravings were made and sold. These portraits were intended to be "a living symbol of a successful revival of 'true religion.'"[52] Unlike generic memento mori woodcuts such as a plain coffin that represented long-term investments because they could be used repeatedly, this custom woodcut would have captured short-term, immediate sales, in a final commodification of Whitefield's image. The strong visual element of this engraving likely magnified the impact of Wheatley's poem and vice versa, making the broadside a valued memento.

But not all editions of Wheatley's poem included this image, and for that reason, it is also likely that Wheatley's poem appealed to readers with regard to *how* she remembered Whitefield.[53] In most elegies, Whitefield is an abstraction, an earthly saint. Generally, these other elegies mourn Whitefield but fail to take advantage of the contextual situation and the occasion of his death to create a poem that would appeal to the colonists. Charles Wesley's poem, for example, bears not a single mention of America, an odd omission given the time that he himself spent in the colonies. Instead, he imagines Whitefield as a soldier for God, complete with targe and sword, preparing to "Tread down thy Foes in Jesu's Name."[54] A notable exception is the anonymous *Elegy on the Much Lamented Death of the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield*. As part of a survey of Whitefield's evangelical tours, naming Glasgow, Edinburgh, London, and other British cities, the speaker of this poem asks,

> Is Britain only left to mourn,
> did his voice no further stand,
> O yes, O yes, America
> he was thine only friend.

An ELEGIAC

POEM,

On the DEATH of that celebrated Divine, and eminent Servant of JESUS CHRIST, the late Reverend, and pious

GEORGE WHITEFIELD,

Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Countess of HUNTINGDON, &c &c.

Who made his Exit from this transitory State, to dwell in the celestial Realms of Bliss, on LORD's-Day, 30th of September, 1770, when he was seiz'd with a Fit of the Asthma, at NEWBURY-PORT, near BOSTON, in NEW-ENGLAND. In which is a Condolatory Address to His truly noble Benefactress the worthy and pious Lady HUNTINGDON,---and the Orphan-Children in GEORGIA; who, with many Thousands, are left, by the Death of this great Man, to lament the Loss of a Father, Friend, and Benefactor.

By PHILLIS, a Servant Girl of 17 Years of Age, belonging to Mr. J. WHEATLEY, of BOSTON:--And has been but 9 Years in this Country from Africa.

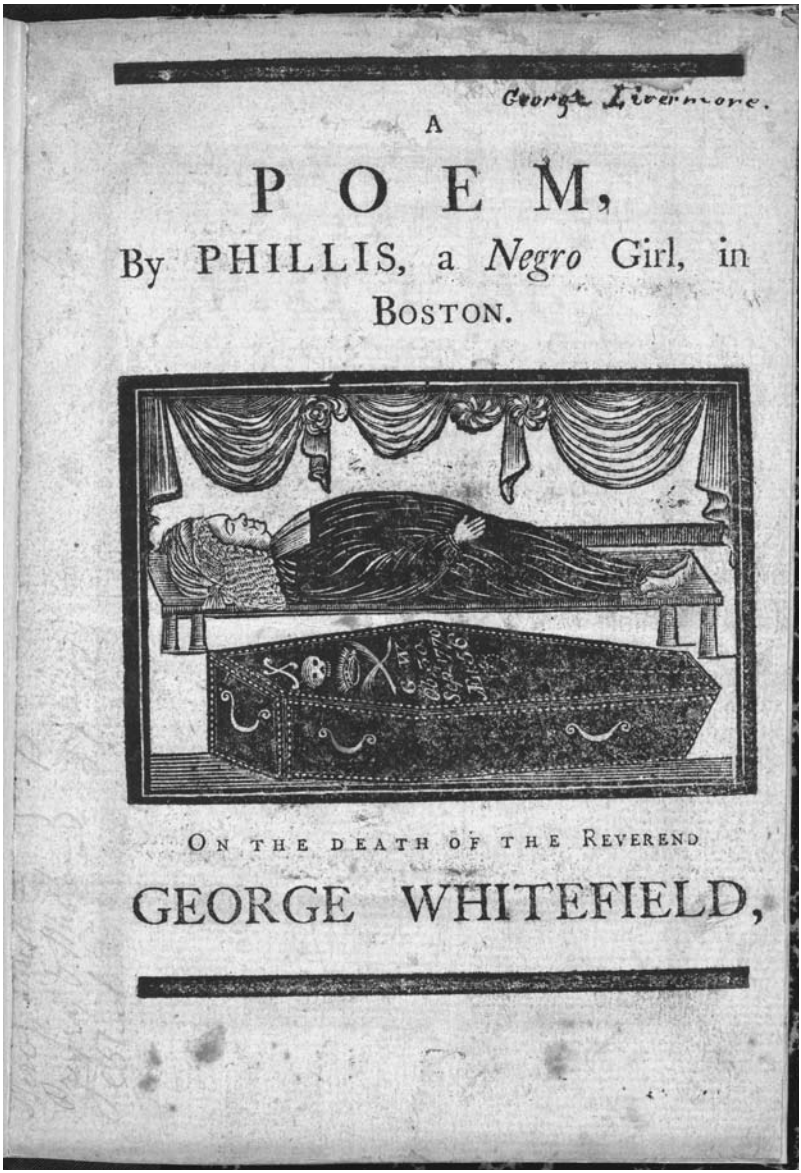
HAIL happy Saint on thy immortal throne!
To thee complaints of grievance are unknown;
We hear no more the music of thy tongue,
Thy wonted auditories cease to throng.
Thy lessons in unequal'd accents flow'd!
While emulation in each bosom glow'd;
Thou didst, in strains of eloquence refin'd,
Inflame the soul, and captivate the mind.
Unhappy we, the setting Sun deplore!
Which once was splendid, but it shines no more,
He leaves this earth for Heaven's unmeasur'd height:
And worlds unknown, receive him from our sight;
There WHITEFIELD wings, with rapid course his way,
And sails to Zion, through vast seas of day.

When his AMERICANS were burden'd sore,
When streets were crimson'd with their guiltless gore!
Unrival'd friendship in his breast now strove:
The fruit thereof was charity and love
Towards *America*-----couldst thou do more
Than leave thy native home, the *British* shore,
To cross the great Atlantic's wat'ry road,
To see *America*'s distress'd abode?
Thy prayers, great Saint, and thy incessant cries,
Have pierc'd the bosom of thy native skies!
Thou moon hast seen, and ye bright stars of light
Have witness been of his requests by night!
He pray'd that grace in every heart might dwell:
He long'd to see *America* excell;
He charg'd its youth to let the grace divine
Arise, and in their future actions shine;
He offer'd THAT he did himself receive,
A greater gift not GOD himself can give:
He urg'd the need of HIM to every one;
It was no less than GOD's co-equal SON!
Take HIM ye wretched for your only good;
Take HIM ye starving souls to be your food.
Ye thirsty, come to this life giving stream:
Ye Preachers, take him for your joyful theme:
Take HIM, "my dear AMERICANS," he said,
Be your complaints in his kind bosom laid:
Take HIM ye *Africans*, he longs for you;
Impartial SAVIOUR, is his title due;
If you will chuse to walk in grace's road,
You shall be sons, and kings, and priests to GOD.

Great COUNTESS! we *Americans* revere
Thy name, and thus condole thy grief sincere:
We mourn with thee, that TOMB obscurely plac'd,
In which thy Chaplain undisturb'd doth rest.
New-England sure, doth feel the ORPHAN's smart;
Reveals the true sensations of his heart:
Since this fair Sun, withdraws his golden rays,
No more to brighten these distressful days!
His lonely *Tabernacle*, sees no more
A WHITEFIELD landing on the *British* shore:
Then let us view him in yon azure skies:
Let every mind with this lov'd object rise.
No more can he exert his lab'ring breath,
Seiz'd by the cruel messenger of death.
What can his dear AMERICA return?
But drop a tear upon his happy urn,
Thou tomb, shalt safe retain thy sacred trust,
Till life divine re-animate his dust.

Sold by EZEKIEL RUSSELL, in Queen-Street, and JOHN BOYLES, in Marlboro'-Street.

Phillis Wheatley, 1770 broadside edition of *An Elegiac Poem, on the Death of . . . George Whitefield*, published by Ezekiel Russell. The Library Company of Philadelphia.



Title page to the eight-page pamphlet *A Poem, by Phillis, a Negro Girl, in Boston, on the Death of the Reverend George Whitefield*, published in 1770 by Ezekiel Russell. Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

The author fails to improve these wooden lines by elaborating on this point, except to say:

> Through Maryland, in America,
> he preach'd from shore to shore,
> Amongst the savage nations there,
> he did the trumpet blow.[55]

Several elegies cast Whitefield as a father figure, a key trope in Wheatley's elegy. One, for example, describes him as:

> Our Father and our Friend,
> The lame Man's Staff, the Leader of the Blind;
> The Poor's Relief, the Widow's Help and Guide,
> The Orphan's Father and the sick Man's Pride.[56]

If these poems gesture faintly toward a loving, protective, paternal relationship between Whitefield and the colonies, Wheatley's elegy makes this connection explicit: Whitefield is the good father to the colonists that King George III is not. In the first stanza, the speaker of the poem directly addresses Whitefield, mourning the lost "strains of eloquence" and "music of thy tongue." But the extended second stanza alternates between addressing Whitefield and recounting for readers Whitefield's relationship to the colonies.

> When his AMERICANS were burden'd sore,
> When streets were crimson'd with their guiltless gore!
> Unrival'd friendship in his breast now strove:
> The fruit thereof was charity and love
> Towards *America*—[57]

Wheatley alternates the lurid and sensational in depicting how King George treats the colonists ("When streets were crimson'd with their guiltless gore!") with the formal, dignified, loving Whitefield ("Unrival'd friendship in his breast now strove"). Whitefield does not merely urge the colonists to embrace the charity and love of Christianity, but he extends this charity to the colonies collectively—to "America" as a geographical and political entity. They are "his" colonies. He is the dignified father, and they are his children, not the king's. Frank Lambert emphasizes that Whitefield was widely understood as being sympathetic toward the colonies; in particular, his preaching against consumption took a political turn in light of the British taxation of imported goods.[58] Thus, he came to be seen as a kind of intermediary between the colonies and

the crown. This praise for Whitefield as the father of the colonies is a stunning turnaround for Wheatley, who in "To the King's Most Excellent Majesty. 1768," praises King George as "our father, and our lord. . . . belov'd by all the nations round" for his role in repealing the Stamp Act.[59] In the intervening two years, however, the political relationship between the colonies and the British government had worsened.

Wheatley's patriotic sympathies would have been known in Boston well before the publication of her elegy for Whitefield. Boston was, at this time, still a relatively small town, numbering 15,520, with an additional 4,718 living in annexed suburbs.[60] Her Whitefield elegy makes Wheatley's patriotic sympathies crystal clear by operating simultaneously on local, intercolonial, and international levels. By claiming that the "streets were crimson'd with their guiltless gore," Wheatley here refers to two major events in Boston from earlier that year. The first of these was the death of eleven-year-old Christopher Seider (spelled in various ways, including "Snider") on 22 February 1770, after being shot by Ebenezer Richardson, a British customs informer, while protesting the sale of British goods. Thousands of Bostonians marched in his funeral, while many more turned out to watch the procession.[61] Although Richardson was convicted of murder, he received a pardon on the grounds of self-defense, which further inflamed public temper toward the British. In response to this event, Wheatley wrote "On the Death of Mr. Snider Murder'd by Richardson,"[62] casting Seider's death as part of a heavenly ordained battle between good and evil; Seider was "the first martyr for the cause" and the British army "the hated brood." Although there is no evidence that this poem was published at that time, the poem likely circulated via readings in the households of Wheatley familiars, since this was such a common means by which Wheatley aired her poetry. Certainly, it became known at least by title, because it is included in the list of poems in the 1772 proposal that was advertised in the *Boston Censor*.

The other major event to which Wheatley's Whitefield elegy refers is the Boston Massacre of 5 March 1770, when British troops shot into a crowd, wounding eleven and ultimately killing five civilians outside the customhouse. Both events prompted tremendous public anger and unrest. The trials for the British soldiers were delayed for many months, which further inflamed the colonial temper. Believing that everyone is entitled to a fair trial, John Adams defended Captain Thomas Preston, the leader of the British soldiers. Preston's trial ran from 24 October to 30 October 1770, with his ultimate acquittal. The trial of the other soldiers was delayed until late November. There could have been no one in Boston by late 1770 who had not seen or heard of one of the news-

papers or broadsides reporting these events.[63] Wheatley's elegy for Whitefield thus emerged in the midst of this heated political crucible, in which immense anger was felt toward the British crown and its representatives.[64]

To say that Wheatley's reminder of British violence would have resonated with her colonial audience in an incredibly meaningful and distinct fashion is an understatement of vast proportion. Indeed, this resonance requires us to read her elegy for Whitefield in a contextual light, or risk missing entirely how it would have been understood by her contemporaries. Her references to Whitefield as a benevolent father figure, which might seem relatively innocuous to modern readers, place him in direct opposition to King George III. As Jay Fliegelman and others have argued, the colonies rhetorically justified their revolt from Great Britain in part by portraying the king as an unjust parent, a tyrannical father who treated his children with cruelty and enforced their dependent status instead of allowing them to mature naturally.[65] By the seventeenth century, fatherhood, as Fliegelman argues, also came to carry "religious obligations. . . . Paternity had in effect become a religious office."[66] The family, with the father at its head, was responsible for the moral development of children. Wheatley's Whitefield thus stands in direct opposition to King George III. Whitefield is the benevolent, loving father of his flock, urging his colonial children to mature, to embrace salvation as a choice, and, through that choice, mature into the independence of adulthood. Just as Whitefield stood as an intermediary between the colonists and the king, so did he, on a grander scale, stand as an earthly intermediary between the colonists and God. Although his death would seem to leave the colonists doubly bereft, Whitefield stands alongside Jesus as an intermediary to the heavenly father. Emphasizing Whitefield's evangelical outreach, the speaker ventriloquizes Whitefield's urging the colonists to follow Jesus:

> Take HIM ye wretched for your only good;
> Take him ye starving souls to be your food.

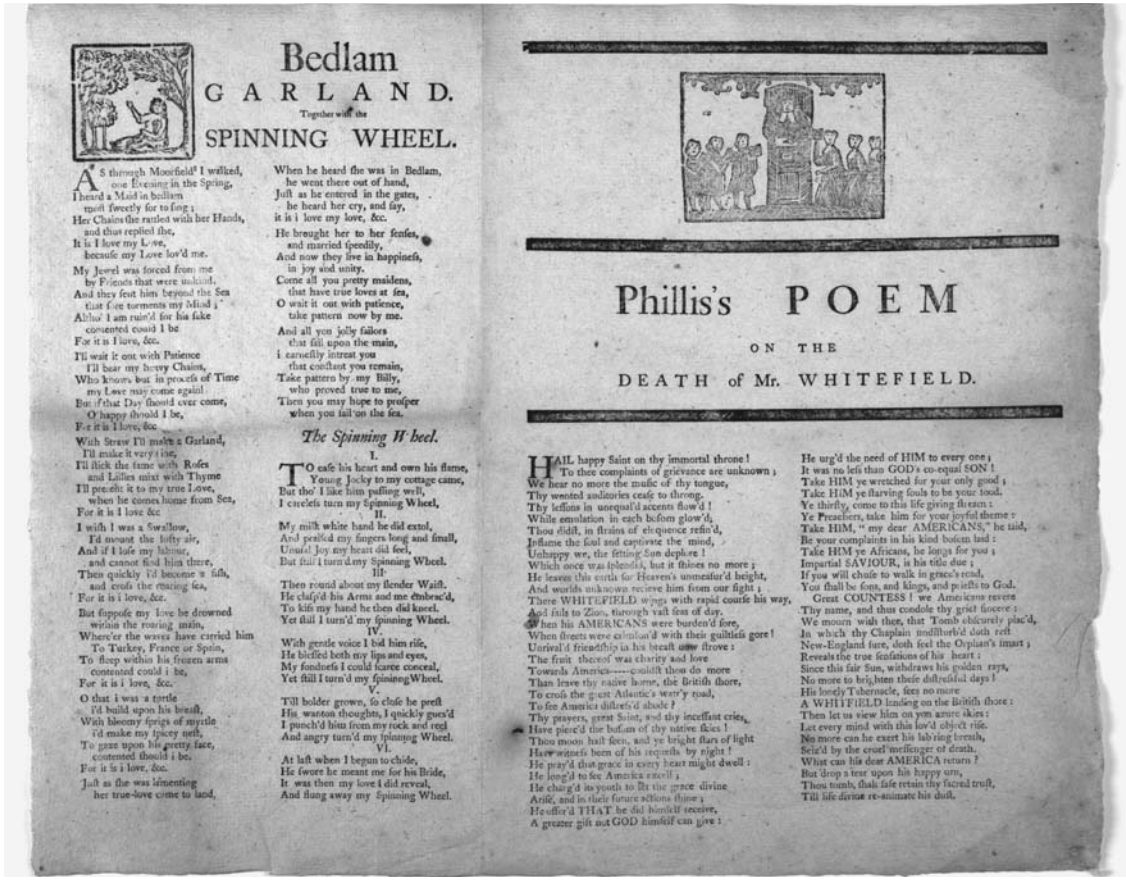
The speaker specifically addresses Whitefield's outreach, offering salvation not only for "my dear AMERICANS," but also for "ye *Africans*," telling them, "he longs for you." Although Wheatley was undoubtedly aware that Whitefield was himself a slave owner, here she tacitly reminds readers that God works through weak vessels and that the message of salvation was available to all, regardless of their state of servitude.

The final section of the poem serves as a consolatory address to Selina,

Countess of Huntington, for whom Whitefield served as a personal chaplain. The speaker of the poem directly addresses the Countess, telling her that "we Americans" share her grief. Further evidence of a pan-colonial identity appears in subsequent lines, as first "*New-England* sure, doth feel the Orphan's smart," playing simultaneously upon Whitefield's sponsorship of a Georgia orphanage and Wheatley's acknowledgment of Whitefield as the mourned spiritual father of the colonies. In return, Whitefield's "dear America" can "But drop a tear upon his happy urn" and regard his tomb as a "sacred trust."

Wheatley altered her Whitefield elegy for British audiences when she prepared the book manuscript for *Poems on Various Subjects*. She excised the eight-line section, quoted in part above, in which she describes Whitefield as America's advocate. The references to Whitefield as a father remain intact, as does Wheatley's designation of herself as the voice of New England and America at large. But these changes signified little for the colonial market; it was the early, broadside version of her elegy that gave Wheatley her broadest colonial exposure, defining her as an African *American*, an evangelical, and a patriot who allied herself with her fellow rebellious colonials. In fact, this poem made her so well known that Isaiah Thomas's 1770 pirated edition of her poem is simply titled *Phillis's Poem on the Death of Mr. Whitefield*. While the lack of a surname might indicate something about Wheatley's subservient status in a slave-owning society, Thomas also presumes that her audience knew exactly who "Phillis" was—no last name was needed.

Remarkably, Wheatley's elegy for George Whitefield is seldom included in anthologies of American literature marketed for undergraduates, giving way instead to such poems as "On Being Brought from Africa to America" and "To the University of Cambridge." When the Whitefield elegy is included, it tends to be the revised, more moderate version that appeared in *Poems*.[67] I do not dispute the importance of these other, more frequently anthologized poems, although it is imperative to acknowledge that the broader reading public would have had limited access to them in Wheatley's lifetime. Books were expensive, and few Americans were able to purchase copies of the first edition of *Poems*, which was largely distributed and sold by Wheatley's personal network. Rather, I wish to argue this larger point: ignoring Wheatley's role as a broadside elegist prevents students from understanding *how* Wheatley, as a slave and a black woman, was able to enter into print. Her success appears *fait accompli*, as if it were genius alone that won Wheatley recognition. Certainly, Wheatley had genius, but genius was not enough. By overlooking her broadsides, students



Bedlam GARLAND.

Together with the

SPINNING WHEEL.

AS through Moorfield I walked,
one Evening in the Spring,
I heard a Maid in bedlam
most sweetly for to sing;
Her Chains she rattled with her Hands,
and thus replied she,
It is I love my Love,
because my Love lov'd me.

My Jewel was forced from me
by Friends that were unkind,
And they sent him beyond the Sea
that fore torments my Mind;
Alas! I am ruin'd for his sake
consented could I be
For it is I love, &c.

I'll wait it out with Patience
I'll bear my heavy Chains,
Who knows but in process of Time
my Love may come again!
But if that Day should ever come,
O happy should I be,
For it is I love, &c.

With Straw I'll make a Garland,
I'll make it very fine,
I'll deck the same with Roses
and Lillies mixt with Thyme
I'll present it to my true Love,
when he comes home from Sea,
For it is I love &c.

I wish I was a Swallow,
I'd mount the lofty air,
And if I lose my labour,
and cannot find him there,
Then quickly I'd become a fish,
and cross the roaring sea,
For it is I love, &c.

But suppose my love be drowned
within the roaring main,
Where'er the waves have carried him
To Turkey, France or Spain,
To sleep within his frozen arms
contented could I be,
For it is I love, &c.

O that I was a turtle
I'd build upon his breast,
With bloomy sprigs of myrtle
I'd make my spicey nest,
To gaze upon his pretty face,
contented should I be,
For it is I love, &c.

Just as she was lamenting
her true-love come to land,
When he heard she was in Bedlam,
he went there out of hand,
Just as he entered in the gates,
he heard her cry, and say,
it is I love my love, &c.

He brought her to her senses,
and married speedily,
And now they live in happiness,
in joy and unity.
Come all you pretty maidens,
that have true loves at sea,
O wait it out with patience,
take pattern now by me.

And all you jolly sailors
that sail upon the main,
I earnestly intreat you
that constant you remain,
Take pattern by my Billy,
who proved true to me,
Then you may hope to prosper
when you sail on the sea.

The Spinning Wheel.

I.

TO ease his heart and own his flame,
Young Jocky to my cottage came,
But tho' I like him passing well,
I carelefs turn my Spinning Wheel,

II.

My milk white hand he did extol,
And praised my fingers long and small,
Untold Joy my heart did feel,
But still I turn'd my Spinning Wheel.

III.

Then round about my slender Waist,
He clasp'd his Arms and me embrac'd,
To kifs my hand he then did kneel.
Yet still I turn'd my spinning Wheel.

IV.

With gentle voice I bid him rise,
He blefsed both my lips and eyes,
My fondness I could scarce conceal,
Yet still I turn'd my spinningWheel.

V.

Till bolder grown, so close he preft
His wanton thoughts, I quickly gues'd
I punch'd him from my rock and reel
And angry turn'd my spinning Wheel.

VI.

At last when I begun to chide,
He swore he meant me for his Bride,
It was then my love I did reveal,
And flung away my Spinning Wheel.

Phillis's POEM

ON THE

DEATH of Mr. WHITEFIELD.

HAIL, happy Saint on thy immortal throne!
To thee complaints of grievance are unknown;
We hear no more the music of thy tongue,
Thy wonted auditories cease to throng.
Thy lessons in unequal'd accents flow'd!
While emulation in each bosom glow'd,
Thou didst, in strains of eloquence refin'd,
Inflame the soul and captivate the mind,
Unhappy we, the setting Sun deplore!
Which once was splendid, but it shines no more;
He leaves this earth for Heaven's unmeasur'd height,
And worlds unknown recieve him from our sight;
There WHITEFIELD wings with rapid course his way,
And soars to Zion, through vast seas of day.
When his AMERICANS were burden'd sore,
When streets were crimson'd with their guiltless gore!
Unrival'd friendship in his breast now strove:
The fruit thereof was charity and love
Towards America——couldst thou do more
Than leave thy native home, the British shore,
To cross the great Atlantic's wat'ry road,
To see America dilress'd abode?
Thy prayers, great Saint, and thy inceffant cries,
Have pierc'd the bosom of thy native skies!
Thou moon hast seen, and ye bright stars of light
How witness born of his requests by night!
He pray'd that grace in every heart might dwell:
He long'd to see America excell;
He charg'd its youth to fear the grace divine
Arise, and in their future actions shine;
He offer'd THAT he did himself receive,
A greater gift not GOD himself can give:
He urg'd the need of HIM to every one;
It was no less than GOD's co-equal SON!
Take HIM ye wretched for your only good;
Take HIM ye starving souls to be your food.
Ye thirsty, come to this life giving stream:
Ye Preachers, take him for your joyful theme:
Take HIM, " my dear AMERICANS," he said,
Be your complaints in his kind bosom laid:
Take HIM ye Africans, he longs for you;
Impartial SAVIOUR, is his title due;
If you will chuse to walk in grace's road,
You shall be sons, and kings, and priests to God.
Great COUNTESS! we Americans revere
Thy name, and thus condole thy grief sincere:
We mourn with thee, that Tomb obscurely plac'd,
In which thy Chaplain mouldring doth rest
New-England fate, doth feel the Orphan's smart;
Reveals the true sensations of his heart;
Since this fair Sun, withdraws his golden rays,
No more to brighten these distressful days!
His lonely Tabernacle, sees no more
A WHITEFIELD landing on the British shore:
Then let us view him on yon azure skies:
Let every mind with this lov'd object rise.
No more can he exert his labouring breath,
Seiz'd by the cruel messenger of death.
What can his dear AMERICA return?
But drop a tear upon his happy urn,
Thou tomb, shalt safe retain thy sacred trust,
Till life divine re-animate his dust.

Broadside edition of *Phillis's Poem on the Death of Mr. Whitefield*, published by Isaiah Thomas in 1770, on a sheet with *Bedlam Garden. Together with the Spinning Wheel*. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

miss out on understanding the importance of her devout evangelism, her patriotic political statements, her expertise with the elegy, her supportive network of evangelicals, and above all, her shrewd ability to penetrate the broadside market and grasp the taste—and political sentiments—of the average devout New Englander. In other words, overlooking Wheatley's elegies obscures the keen strategy at work behind her print presence. As her various letters and poems illustrate, Wheatley learned to navigate different discourse communities, a lesson that many students struggle to learn today. She wrote herself into belonging to those communities. Ignoring the Whitefield elegy, or any of her other politicized elegies such as the one for Christopher Seider, leaves us with a curiously abstracted Wheatley—not the Wheatley who saw streets thronged with mobs angry at British rule, who was deeply moved by the evangelism of Whitefield, who would have read broadsides and newspapers about these events, and who wanted to voice her own anger, outrage, and grief.

Elegies after Whitefield

With the hindsight of nearly 250 years, it seems clear that Wheatley's success with the Whitefield elegy prompted her and Susannah Wheatley to publish more elegies in broadside editions: in 1771, *To Mrs. Leonard, on the Death of her Husband* (later retitled "To a Lady on the Death of Her Husband"); in 1772, *To the Rev. Mr. Pitkin, on the Death of His Lady* (later retitled "To a Clergyman on the Death of his Lady"); and in 1773, both *To the Hon'ble Thomas Hubbard, Esq.; On the Death of Mrs. Thankfull Leonard* and *An Elegy, to Miss Mary Moorhead, on the Death of her Father, The Rev. Mr. John Moorhead*. Still other elegies, such as "On the Death of Dr. Samuel Marshall" (*Boston Evening-Post*, 7 October 1771) were published in periodicals, while others circulated only in manuscript.[68] Wheatley assiduously signed her name to these poems, which was not necessarily the case with elegies by other writers, who often signed them "by a neighbor," or some other descriptive phrase. Wheatley's poems were, as Kirstin Wilcox describes them, "local" poems, in that they memorialized specific private individuals.[69] While these individuals were known and respected in their local communities, they were by no means famous. Consequently, when Wheatley chose to include some of these elegies in her 1773 poetry anthology, she retitled and genericized them for a broader reading audience in London.[70] By "genericizing," I mean that she depersonalized them to make them accessible for an impersonal audience. They are arguably less successful as a result, for

personalization and localization are the raisons d'être for American broadside elegies. Absent such a context, Wheatley's elegies in *Poems* fall curiously flat.

As she was publishing elegies, Wheatley was also writing and publishing political poetry such as "To the Right Honourable William [Legge], Earl of Dartmouth," which appeared in the 3 June 1773 *New-York Journal*; but numbers alone demonstrate that the elegy was the dominant mode in which she published prior to her 1773 volume. While Wheatley's elegy for Whitefield crucially asserted her right to public mourning, her continued use of the elegiac mode maintained her public presence and enabled her to access the particular discourse community of elite Bostonians who would be crucial for her book publication. By elegizing the deaths of these individuals, Wheatley staged her poetry in a way to reach beyond the personal acquaintances of the Wheatley family. In large part, this community was composed of men similar to those represented by the eighteen men who would attest to the authenticity of Wheatley's volume of poetry. Other critics have described the religious and political credentials of this group at length, so I will not belabor them, other than to note that the signatories included men educated for the most part at Harvard; they were ministers, doctors, political appointees, and authors themselves.[71] Mary Balkun describes the group in this way: "The signers of the attestation represent a significant segment of her audience, one she knew very well as a result of personal association, correspondence, or having heard them preach."[72] They and their families represent the kind of audience that Wheatley sought for her subsequent poetry.

Although as a woman and an enslaved African American Wheatley could not erase the differences between herself and that elite audience, through her use of language she could temporarily bridge that gulf. She spoke the same language—in every sense of the phrase. In "The Politics of Discourse Communities," Bruce Herzberg argues "that language use in a group is a form of social behavior, that discourse is a means of maintaining and extending that group's knowledge and of initiating new members into the group, and that discourse is epistemic or constitutive of the group's knowledge."[73] Put another way, to gain an individual identity in the public sphere, it was not enough for Wheatley to learn to read and write in English in sixteen months; it was not enough that she learned Latin and studied the classics; it was not enough that she converted to evangelical Christianity and formally joined the Old South Boston Church at the age of eighteen. None of these achievements, alone or combined, was sufficient to give Wheatley either an individual identity, or even the vexed and complicated identity of Phillis the slave poet. In *Disowning Slavery*, Joanne

Pope Melish sums up the tremendous challenge that all New England slaves faced, in that they labored under the "obligation to be exactly like whites while remaining absolutely unlike them, and herein lies what may have been the most terrible psychological burden of slavery as lived by slaves."[74] To maintain this duality, Wheatley repeatedly employed the discourse of the elegy, especially her invocation of her evangelical faith in those poems, in ways that demonstrated her linguistic and theological similitude to her New England audience and kept her in the public sphere. Wheatley's propensity for the elegy squares neatly within the ranking of poetry in New England; as Jeffrey Hammond explains: "New Englanders were convinced that there was no worthier poetic task than to recount these parables of divine agency in exemplary lives."[75]

In considering this audience, we must acknowledge the ways in which Wheatley draws upon a masculine model of the elegy, a model very much in keeping with evangelical New England values and beliefs. In a splendid essay titled "Feminism and Deconstruction: Re-Constructing the Elegy," Celeste M. Schenck argues: "The funeral elegy is, from its inception in the poetry of Theocritus and his followers, Bion and Moschus, a resolutely patriarchal genre: a song sung over the bier of a friend-forebear in order both to lay the ancestor to rest and to seize the pipes of pastoral poetry from his barely cold hands."[76] These pastoral elegies are, as Schenck describes them, "poetry of ambition, focusing . . . on issues of literary succession and poetic potency." Continuing, she argues that "a masculine elegy marks a rite of separation that culminates in ascension to stature; it rehearses an act of identity that depends upon *rupture*" (emphasis added).[77] Such rupture—the death of a Christian—represented an opportunity for Wheatley to establish her identity as a Christian poet, for implicit in Schenck's description of the masculine elegy is that these are public elegies, written to lay claim to stature.[78]

Schenck has persuasively argued that women seldom follow this masculine model of the elegy. Indeed, drawing upon the poetry of Anne Bradstreet, Charlotte Bronte, Anne Sexton, May Sarton, and numerous other twentieth-century poets, Schenck argues that elegies written by women tend to be more personal and reject the rupture created by death. They long for intimate connection with the dead and refuse consolation.[79] Susan Stabile notes a similar refusal to accept consolation in the elegies that Hannah Griffitts wrote annually for more than fifty years for her late mother.[80] Through this extraordinary tribute, Griffitts reveals her resolute insistence on memory and her refusal to forget. On the whole, I find Schenck's argument persuasive; much early American women's poetry was written as part of a private grieving process, at the most

intended to circulate among family or friends. The imagined audience would likely have shaped women's elegies and their expressions of sorrow; what we are willing to share with our most intimate friends is not necessarily what we would advertise to the world at large.

Although Schenck's argument is compelling, Wheatley's elegies diverge strikingly from her model of the female elegist. To understand why Wheatley adopts and adapts a more masculine model of elegy, we need to keep in mind that her elegies, while often directed to individual survivors, were almost always also intended to be public poems. Their public orientation undoubtedly shaped the decorous fashion in which her poems mourn loss. As a consequence, some critics have charged Wheatley with a certain coldness in her elegies because her remembrances of the dead are seldom phrased in intimate ways and more often than not seem to serve as vehicles for Wheatley's belief in salvation. But in many ways, the speaker's remove from the dead in these elegies is understandable. The people for whom Wheatley wrote elegies were often mere acquaintances, at most mentors, rather than true intimates. The loss for Wheatley is rarely intensely personal, but these public elegies nonetheless allowed her a way to access and rehearse the grief that must have ensued from her own familial loss when she was sold into slavery. As Jennifer Thorn describes them, Wheatley's elegies for private individuals "[celebrate] affective ties in which she both could, and could not, participate. . . . So doing, they allow us to imagine grief for the loss and ideological devaluation of her own childhood and her own children."[81] If Wheatley could not properly mourn her own losses, her grief nonetheless serves as a significant backstory in these other elegies, buried under the surface, and rising to the forefront only momentarily in a poem such as "To the Right Honourable William, Earl of Dartmouth," when she wonders poignantly,

> What pangs excruciating must molest,
> What sorrows labour in my parent's breast?[82]

One cannot help but ponder the painful irony, that even as Wheatley celebrated the saved status of white Christians, she was denied for her own family the Christian consolation and promise of reunion in the afterlife with which she solaced her readers. Is it any wonder, then, that Wheatley was drawn to the Christian elegy, which encourages forbearance, while indulging in melancholy?

Wheatley by and large tends to celebrate the separation that death imposes between the dead and the living, for in her evangelical belief system, death leads to ascension to Heaven. This, as Jeffrey Hammond explains, is the central conundrum of the evangelical elegy: "to grieve according to one's natural im-

pulses revealed a misguided compulsion to lament what should be celebrated as a saint's final victory."[83] For believers, death is not an irrevocable separation. Rather than absolute rupture, death in Wheatley's elegies might best be described as a suspension, with the promise of resurrection heralding a better life. For example, in the poem *To the Hon'ble Thomas Hubbard, Esq.*, Wheatley advises Hubbard, who was the treasurer of Harvard College and a deacon in the Old South Church in Boston, not to mourn the loss of his daughter, Thankfull.[84] After first telling him that she hopes that he

> Let Recollection bear a tender part
> To sooth and calm the tortures of your heart

she then tells him to "cease, no more her unknown bliss bemoan!"[85] "Cease" is a word Wheatley often uses as an admonishment toward mourners, as she transitions in her elegies from lamenting and remembering the dead to offering consolation and divine witness. Wheatley goes on to advise Hubbard that his daughter, who had recently lost her spouse (the subject of yet another elegy),

> Has ceas'd to languish, and forgot to mourn.
> Since to the same divine dominions come
> She joins her Spouse, and smiles upon the Tomb.[86]

In what Paula Bennett notes is a typical strategy in Wheatley's elegies, she has the deceased, Thankfull, speak. In the last line of the poem, she urges her parents not to mourn for her, but instead, "prepare for equal Joy."[87] Similarly, in Wheatley's poem *To the Rev. Mr. Pitkin, on the Death of His Lady*, his dead wife not only tells him not to mourn, but urges him,

> "Come away," she cries,
> "Partake the sacred Raptures of the Skies!"[88]

Several factors likely influenced Wheatley's admonitory tone toward mourners. First, the Puritan elegiac tradition that influenced Wheatley emphasized restraint and rejected excessive lamentation. As Max Cavitch explains, "Immoderate grief suggested a lack of faith." To mourn excessively would be to resist the will of God and his beneficence. Instead, Cavitch argues, "Elegies counsel submission to various forms of authority, order the speech and silence of grieving subjects, and establish hierarchies and communities of abjection within and against which alliances and identities are worked out."[89] Certainly, Wheatley variously positions herself in her elegies as a comourner, as a consoler, and as the voice of evangelical authority testifying to the power of Resurrection.

Wheatley's stoicism both with regard to her own losses and her attitude

toward mourners may also be related to her understanding of the emerging republicanism of the late eighteenth century. In the last half of the century, republicanism and sentiment twined together in a curious fashion. Rather than an excess of emotion, republicanism tracked toward stoicism. In *Cato's Tears*, Julie Ellison explores the importance of emotional reserve. Discussing Joseph Addison's enormously influential tragedy *Cato* through the lens of Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Ellison contends, quoting Smith, "[W]e experience our own afflictions so intensely—they make 'so violent an impression'—that self-control is a struggle (1.3.1.14, 49)." For Smith, the stoicism, dignity, and fortitude with which one endures suffering elicits sympathy and respect.[90] Given the context of *Cato*, this is clearly a masculine approach to sentiment, but Wheatley's poems suggest a similar strategy of reticence.

If this is the case, if stoicism and reticence in the face of grief are one way to elicit sympathy, then how does one own one's suffering? How can readers admire one's stoicism if they are not even aware that one suffers, if they do not know what one has lost? Max Cavitch reasons:

> In the elegy, Wheatley discovered possibilities for managing the unmitigated alienation of slavery and the ungrievable—because largely unknown—losses she sustained as a stolen child. She wrote her elegies on behalf of other mourners radically unlike herself in the clarity of their losses and in the social recognition they received. Not recognized as a mourner, perhaps not even by herself, Wheatley set about acquiring the means of recognizing and managing the mourning of others.[91]

But in some ways, Wheatley did not need to testify to her losses: the paratextual material that accompanied most her of published poems and her book—material that was added by her white owners, editors, patrons, and friends—performed this work for her by rehearsing her tragic history. The overt rationale for these paratextual materials is generally to highlight how exotic and extraordinary Wheatley was in overcoming the disadvantages imposed by her "condition," but at the same time, these paratexts inadvertently draw attention to the loss behind it.

After her volume of poems was published in 1773, Wheatley continued to write elegies, some of which were shared privately with the deceased's loved ones, such as "On the Death of General Wooster," while others were published, such as the broadside *An Elegy, to Miss Mary Moorhead* and "To Mr. and Mrs. ——, on the Death of Their Infant Son" (which appeared in the September 1784 *Boston Magazine*). In the unsuccessful proposal for a 1784 volume

of poetry, advertised in the *Boston Magazine*, Wheatley even listed an elegy on an infant as a specimen of her work. The elegiac genre served its purpose: Wheatley had become a public poet not only on the local scale, but also on the international scale.

Broadside Elegies and the Print Marketplace

Strikingly little poetry was published outside of newspapers and periodicals in Massachusetts in the 1770s and early 1780s, a fact that highlights Wheatley's achievements in broadside publishing. Only a few dozen or fewer works per year are extant, a figure that includes broadsides, pamphlets, and book publications. While it is highly probable that a few more broadside poems were printed than are extant today, the number of individual poems published probably is not much higher because of the limited overall sales of American published poetry. Of the poems extant today from the Revolutionary era, most are relatively brief and overtly political in nature, memorializing battles, elegizing the colonial war dead, and skewering the British; still other pieces were designed to be sung by the American troops. Poetry linked to criminal confessions and executions continued to appear, as discussed in chapter 3, as does the occasional individual elegy. Serious nonpolitical, belletristic verse is rare, marked by reprints of such British works as Thomas Gray's "An Elegy Written in a Country Church-Yard" in 1772 and Oliver Goldsmith's "The Deserted Village" in 1783. The few volumes of poetry that were published tended to be overtly biblical and musical in nature, such as the 1774 edition of Isaac Watts's *Divine Songs, Attempted in Easy Language, for the Use of Children*, or Nahum Brady's 1773 *A New Version of the Psalms of David*. While there is no doubt that poetry was popular among both readers and writers, there seems not to have been much profit in it for Massachusetts printers in the 1770s and 1780s. Given the paucity of poetry published in Massachusetts, and especially in Boston, during this period, Wheatley's repeated entry into print via the broadside is all the more remarkable. Especially remarkable is the fact that the 1773 broadside *An Elegy, to Miss Mary Moorhead* and the 1784 pamphlet containing *An Elegy, Sacred to the Memory of the Great Divine, the Reverend and Learned Dr. Samuel Cooper* were available for sale at the printers' offices. While Wheatley may have sold other elegies, these are clearly marked as available for sale. This fact speaks volumes about Wheatley's local reputation, given the paucity of locally printed serious verse available for sale. Further, while both John Moorhead and Samuel

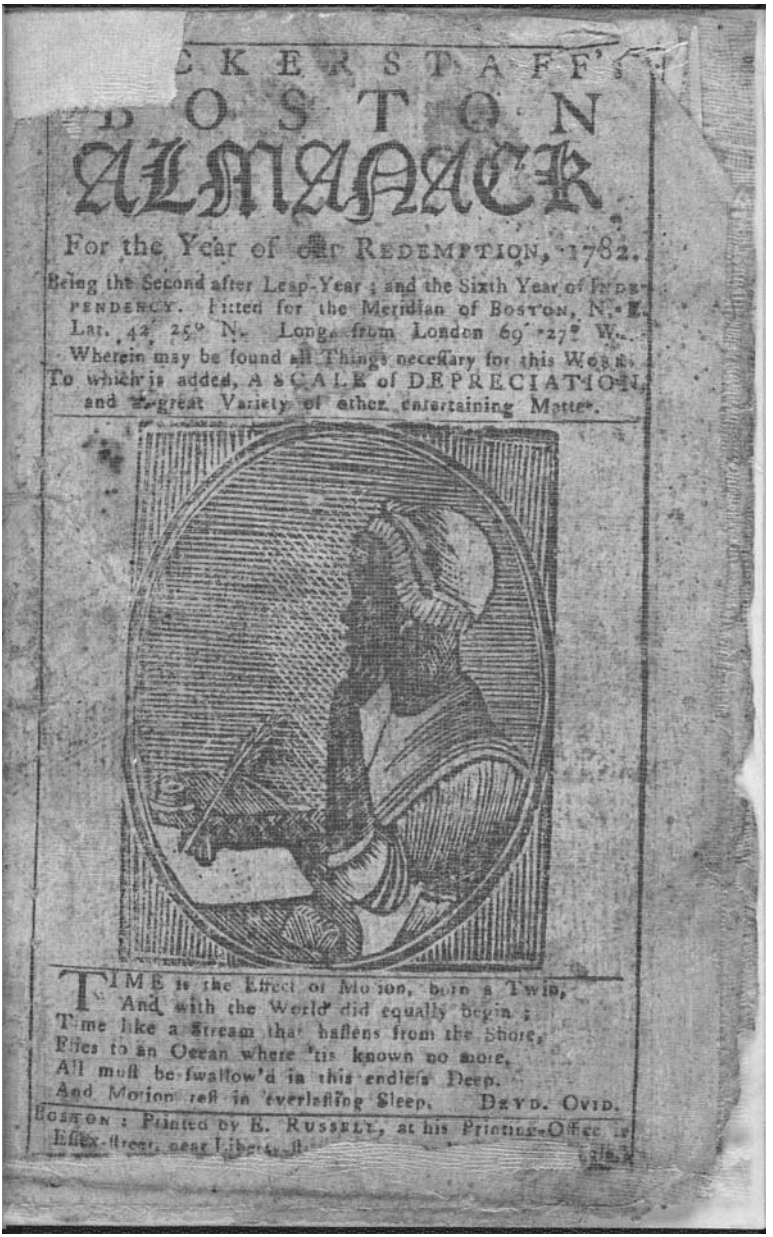
Cooper were well-known local ministers and both had signed the attestation for Wheatley's volume of poems, neither was a celebrity.[92]

By contrast, Wheatley's inability to get an anthology of poems published in the colonies is neither remarkable nor surprising. In making this claim, I do not mean to assert that race did not play a factor in Wheatley's publishing experiences; obviously, race shaped her experiences in crucial ways both disabling and enabling. But I would like to put to rest any notion that racism *alone* prevented Wheatley from publishing a volume of poetry in the colonies or the early United States, or that racism alone drove her to create the attestation. Vincent Carretta rightly notes: "Wheatley's 'Proposals,'" which announced what was ultimately an unsuccessful attempt to publish a volume in Boston, "is noteworthy . . . because it was the first in what would soon become a tradition of having white commentators or editors attest to the authenticity of works by people of African descent."[93] However, Wheatley was not the first colonial woman who required an editorial preface testifying to her moral character and ability as a writer. Indeed *The Tenth Muse*, by Anne Bradstreet, the first Anglo-American to publish a book of poetry, included just such a preface from her brother-in-law, while Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative likewise included a preface signed by "I.M.," who was most likely Increase Mather. Further, as we have seen, racism did not prevent Wheatley from publishing or selling broadsides.

In pre-Revolutionary Boston, the sale of volumes of secular poetry was not very profitable. Had poetry been profitable, we would likely have seen Boston reprintings of the works of British writers who were popular in early America, such as John Milton, James Thompson, and Alexander Pope. Instead, in late eighteenth-century America, popular British poetry volumes were far more likely to circulate in editions imported from London, where the economy of scale worked in the favor of printers and booksellers, rather than in small print runs produced by relatively small Massachusetts print shops, whose sales were limited by equally small distribution areas. There were no national presses, and no national or even regional distribution networks. Absent this kind of publishing infrastructure, the chances were extraordinarily slim of any American, regardless of race, publishing a volume of poetry without paying the printing costs in advance either through subscription, as Wheatley sought to do via her proposals, or out of personal funds. The difficulty of profiting from poetry makes Wheatley's broadsides all that more intriguing. Possibly other poems beyond those previously mentioned were available for public sale, but unless new Wheatley imprints are discovered, we can only speculate.

It is not clear at whose initial expense Wheatley's broadsides were published. While various printers took on the costs of publishing her Whitefield elegy and reaped profits for themselves (e.g., Isaiah Thomas), Wheatley may have paid in advance for her other broadsides to be printed as small jobs, which would then have allowed her to profit from any sales. Alternatively, Susannah Wheatley or supporters might have paid for those that do not list publisher or sale information. Some of the elegies that do not list sale or publication information may have been paid for by family members of the deceased, with the intent that the elegies be distributed as memorial gifts. Wheatley may very well have had different arrangements with different printers. For example, given that both *An Elegy, to Miss Mary Moorhead* and *An Elegy, Sacred to the Memory* were described as being available for sale at their respective printers, the printer likely bore some or all of the publication costs for those particular poems, perhaps sharing any profits with Wheatley. Although the use of different presses might have been a function of which press was the least expensive and whose work might yield the greatest profit for her, several Boston printers were located in close proximity on Marlborough and Exeter Streets—just a few blocks from the Old South Meeting House where Wheatley was baptized and likely heard George Whitefield preach[94]—and Boston printers oftentimes worked cooperatively. Given the importance of timeliness in elegy publication, when speed of composition and printing were of the essence, Wheatley's use of different presses may reflect which press was resting idle at the time Wheatley completed her elegy. This kind of flexibility in printing and publishing options was typical of the flourishing print culture of late eighteenth-century Boston. It also illuminates the kinds of opportunities for entering into print that were available even to the poor and the unfree. However, one consequence of the consolidation of print into large national firms during the antebellum era—at a time when the costs of paper, printing supplies, and transportation actually dropped—was that the realm of print became in some ways less porous and more challenging for outsiders to navigate.

By 1782, external evidence indicates that Wheatley had become identified with Boston and how Boston imagined itself. Remarkably, a crude woodcut based on the likeness of Wheatley from her 1773 volume of *Poems* appeared on the title page of *Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack, for the Year of Our Redemption, 1782*, which was published in late 1781. There were five variants of this almanac published in New England that year using the same basic format and with information adapted for local markets. Only in the one Boston edition of *Bickerstaff*—and only in the edition published by Ezekiel Russell's firm—did a copy


K E R S T A F F ' S
B O S T O N
ALMANACK,
For the Year of our REDEMPTION, 1782.
Being the Second after Leap-Year; and the Sixth Year of INDEPENDENCY. Fitted for the Meridian of BOSTON, N. E. Lat. 42° 25' N. Long. from London 69° 27' W.
Wherein may be found all Things neceſſary for this Work.
To which is added, A SCALE of DEPRECIATION,
and a great Variety of other entertaining Matter.
TIME is the Effect of Motion, born a Twin,
And with the World did equally begin;
Time like a Stream that haſtens from the Shore,
Flies to an Ocean where 'tis known no more,
All muſt be ſwallow'd in this endleſs Deep,
And Motion reſt in everlaſting Sleep. DRYD. OVID.
BOSTON: Printed by E. RUSSELL, at his Printing-Office in Eſſex-ſtreet, near Liberty-ſt.

Cover illustration of Phillis Wheatley from *Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack, for the Year of Our Redemption, 1782*, published by Ezekiel Russell. Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

of the engraving appear. Editions of the almanac from previous and subsequent years feature heroes or allegorical scenes from the Revolution, including John Hancock, George Washington, James Otis Jr., and Benjamin Franklin. Russell already had a business relationship with Wheatley; working in various shops, he published three editions of her Whitefield elegy in 1770 and the short-lived *Boston Censor*, where her 1772 book proposal appeared. In 1784, he would publish Wheatley's elegy for Dr. Samuel Cooper and her broadside poem *Liberty and Peace*. But it is telling, and remarkable, that Russell would find Wheatley's image suitable in 1781 for marketing a Boston text. Clearly, he viewed her as both a patriot and a local celebrity. And given the wide-ranging audience for almanac purchases, it also suggests that Russell believed Wheatley had name and face recognition throughout Boston's social strata, not just among the evangelical elite.[95]

Unfortunately, local celebrity was no insulation for Wheatley from loss, grief, and the deprivations of war. Even as the market for belletristic works declined during the war years, Wheatley continued to seek an audience for her productions, as evidenced by her periodical productions and the various book proposals she advertised in colonial newspapers in 1779 and 1784. But it is telling that she did not publish any broadsides between her 1773 poems *To the Hon'ble Thomas Hubbard, Esq.* and *An Elegy, to Miss Mary Moorhead* and her 1784 elegy for Dr. Samuel Cooper and *Liberty and Peace*, even though she continued to write throughout the war years, as evidenced by such works as her 1776 poem in honor of George Washington, published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, and her 1778 elegy for General Wooster, which she sent directly to his wife.[96] There simply was not much of a market for printed poetry, and two of the printers she had frequented in the past were no longer working in Boston. William M'Alpine, who printed *An Elegy, to Miss Mary Moorhead*, was a Tory who fled Boston in 1775; Ezekiel Russell was working in Salem and Danvers between 1775 and 1780.[97]

Wheatley's later career, if not so heavily dominated by the elegiac mode as was her earlier phase, is nonetheless marked by personal losses—the deaths of Susannah Wheatley in 1774, John Wheatley and their daughter, Mary Wheatley Lathrop, in 1778, and their son, Nathaniel Wheatley, who was living in London, in 1783, leaving Phillis Wheatley bereft and orphaned a second time. No one is quite so liminal as Wheatley: celebrated, honored, and, extraordinary for a common person of the time, her face readily identifiable to people in Boston and London. Nonetheless, she was impoverished, isolated from many of her former associates, and unable to bring out another volume of poems

for reasons that had little to do with her aesthetic skill or audience appeal but much to do with the economics of war and the disruptions of her support network. Personal connections had been critical for Wheatley in mitigating her status as an outsider, but one after another of her supporters died, became disabled, or fled the country.[98] Margaretta Odell, the author of a nineteenth-century memoir, emphasizes that the last years of Wheatley's life were enormously difficult ones for all Americans. The privations of war led to shortages of food and goods and tremendous inflation. Inexpensive broadsides might still sell—and they did—but the difficult economic circumstances of those years left little money for aesthetic luxuries like volumes of poetry. The much-reduced population of Boston during the war years, during which time the city lost nearly a third of its population, would have further reduced the demand for belletristic works.[99]

Curiously, despite the grief and loss Wheatley must have experienced, there are no elegies for any members of the Wheatley family. Reportedly, to preserve her modesty and privacy, Susannah asked that Phillis *not* write an elegy for her.[100] Max Cavitch has speculated that "the absence of any elegies for those whose name she shared keeps her place at the margins of that family and its society well marked—which may or may not have been among Susannah Wheatley's dying intentions."[101] Given Susannah Wheatley's methodical advocacy of Phillis Wheatley's writing career, this absence of elegies more likely reflects Susannah Wheatley's desire to preserve her personal privacy than a desire to distance the poet from the family. Even if the absence of elegies for any of the white Wheatleys reflects familial wishes, there are also no elegies for any of the children Phillis Wheatley reportedly bore, even though Wheatley had previously written elegies for children.[102] How, then, should we understand the absence of elegies for her intimates? After years of repressing her own losses while exploring those of others, was Wheatley unable to articulate her own sense of loss publicly? Did some losses simply cut too deeply to speak of? Wheatley's innermost self will forever remain elusive. The absence of intimate elegies does suggest, at any rate, that the elegy remained for Wheatley a public form of poetry, a useful, deliberately vocational form of poetry.

The Afterlife of Phillis Wheatley

There is a curious poetic footnote to Wheatley's personal life filled with losses and her public life wrought by the elegy, for in the decades after her death,

Phillis Wheatley's public image split into two distinct manifestations. In one guise, she continued after her death in 1784 to be the poet of public mourning and the moral exemplar celebrated in a poem by her fellow black poet Jupiter Hammon, who invokes both Wheatley's "Upon Being Brought from Africa to America" and "To the University of Cambridge." Hammon honors Wheatley as the "pious youth" brought to America by "God's tender mercy,"

> That thou a pattern still might be,
> To youth of Boston town.[103]

Wheatley's volume of poetry continued to circulate in subsequent editions, appearing in the catalogs from the 1780s of the Library Company of Philadelphia, the Harvard Library, and various circulating libraries, such as that of John Dabney of Salem; her book is also listed in various editions of booksellers' catalogs. Other writers continued to discuss Wheatley in print and to anthologize her work, not just in the new United States, but also in England.[104]

Wheatley's poetry went on to become a mainstay of antislavery periodicals such as the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* in the 1820s and the *Liberator* in the 1830s, presented as evidence of the past greatness of Wheatley as an individual and the future potential of African Americans as a race. Brief biographical sketches and reprints of Wheatley's poems continued to appear throughout the antebellum period, especially in antislavery journals but also in Christian periodicals for young people such as the *Juvenile Magazine*.[105] In other journals, such as the *Knickerbocker* and the *Souvenir*, Wheatley's career is discussed matter-of-factly as that of an American poet made extraordinary by virtue of her enslavement.[106]

Not all posthumous responses to Wheatley's work were glowing. In *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Thomas Jefferson famously dismissed Wheatley's work by claiming: "Religion indeed has produced a Phyllis Whately; but it could not produce a poet. The compositions published under her name are below the dignity of criticism."[107] In response to Jefferson's vitriol, Walt Nott notes: "the fact that Wheatley elicited such a vehement attack from Jefferson almost fifteen years after her last major publication and three years after her death testifies to the strong public presence she exerted within the discourse of the time."[108] Both John C. Shields and Henry Louis Gates Jr. have traced the hostile literary responses to Wheatley, some of which continue to this day.[109] Through only one slender volume of poetry and a handful of broadsides and periodical publications, Wheatley remarkably evokes passionate responses decades and even centuries after her death. These responses, whether positive or

negative, illustrate the compelling place Wheatley holds in American culture as a symbol of black potentiality.

Interestingly, gender for Wheatley became fungible; she could stand for the potentiality of Africans and African Americans—whether male or female—as a race. It is Wheatley who is lifted up as signifying potentiality, not John Marrant, nor Prince Hall, nor any of the famed African American ministers of the day such as Richard Allen, who was central to the creation of a black counter public sphere in the early Republic. But race was not fungible. Not one of the many commentators who exalts Wheatley's genius during the era of the early Republic argues that she signals the intellectual and aesthetic potential of *women* as a sex. By all rights, she should have been ranked with her fellow patriotic New Englanders—among them Judith Sargent Murray and Mercy Otis Warren, as well as such accomplished contemporary poets as Sarah Wentworth Morton and Annis Boudinot Stockton. But then most of those women were not exactly household names themselves, and their fame was similarly restricted by the disorganized, undercapitalized regional publishing market and the common practice of anonymous or pseudonymous authorship.

Running counter to the periodical articles aimed at middling or elite audiences that acknowledged Wheatley's poetic skill, however, was a broadside avatar of Wheatley intended for a much less elite audience. These posthumous broadsides, in which Wheatley repeatedly appears as a figurehead of black America, were both threatening and mean spirited. Here I speak of the so-called "Bobalition" genre, which includes both engravings and broadside poetry utilizing broad dialect to ridicule African Americans. Appearing in the first decades of the nineteenth century, at precisely the time when the northeastern urban black population was growing in density, these documents contest the participation of blacks in public life, especially in civic celebrations. Historians have suggested that the Bobalition texts arose as the response of lower-class whites to labor pressures in the Northeast and in defiance of the annual African American celebrations of the end of the slave trade.[110] While intended to humiliate African Americans, these Bobalition texts also attempt to reassure whites that black citizenship is unimaginable, that African Americans and their public presences will always be refracted replicas of white citizenship—poorly executed and immediately recognizable as imitations. In other words, blacks will always be outsiders in the Republic, Bobalition texts threaten.

As a whole, Bobalition broadsides seek to ridicule, intimidate, and suppress the development of a black counter public sphere, especially those public celebrations associated with abolition day parades or alternatives to Fourth of July

celebrations. Phillip Lapsansky explains: "These Abolition Day celebrations were a holiday for northern free blacks, usually celebrated on January 1, but in Boston held on July 14th as a contra July 4th celebration."[111] Such separate celebrations were perceived by some whites as threatening to white sovereignty. David Waldstreicher explains the function of the Bobalition broadsides in this fashion:

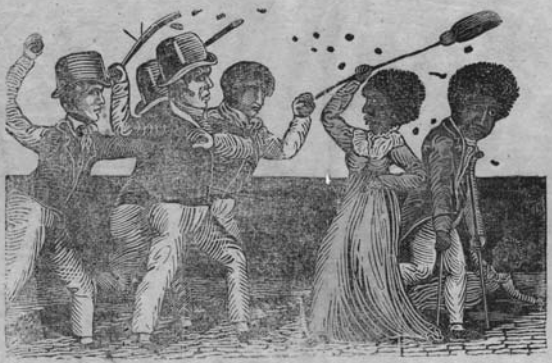
> Going behind the scenes of the political other's celebration and exposing it as artifice, the 'Bobalition' broadsides took on the properties of anticelebratory discourse that partisans had been practicing since the Revolution. In doing so they also drew upon the particular tradition that I have called literary blackface—in which whites, employing exaggerated dialect and malapropisms, imitated black speech in order to ridicule black pretensions to speak (and write) as whites did. By 1821, these broadsides had begun to take a standard form. They begin with a fake letter from a black procession organizer to one of his marshals, giving the 'Order of de Day.' A 'Bosecrip' lists the toasts supposedly given.

Waldstreicher describes Bobalition broadsides as "*almost* nonsense: they make enough sense to reveal blacks' nationalist and antislavery political discourse, but make that discourse an example of African Americans' *lack* of cultural independence and real equality."[112]

While the primary goal of these texts seems to be the racial intimidation of African Americans, some historians have suggested that these texts aimed to regulate the public behavior of both blacks *and* lower-class whites.[113] They base their evidence largely on the historical contexts for these Bobalition texts, some of which were created in response to actual historical events, when groups of working-class white men attacked the homes and persons of African Americans. The complex interplay between the engravings and the text in some broadsides suggests their mixed functions. For example, one of the best-known texts of the Bobalition genre is the 1816 imprint of a *Dreadful Riot on Negro Hill!* Purportedly a "copy of an intercepted letter from PHILLIS to her Sister in the Country, describing the late Riot on NEGRO HILL," it describes in verse the violent attack of a group of animal-like white working men.[114] Armed with cudgels, they beat Phillis and her husband, Pomp, and even strike their baby, Katy. The engraving is at odds with the poem, for the verse describes the men as workers dressed in "whiten frock[s]," while the engraving pictures four white men in top hat, coats, and cravats. Armed with cudgels and rocks, these well-dressed white men attack Phillis, who attempts to defend her

Dreadful Riot on Negro Hill!

O! Read wid detention de Melancholly Tale and he send you yelling to your Beds!



Copy of an intercepted Letter from PHILLIS to her Sister in the Country, describing the late Riot on NEGRO HILL.

Dear SISSER, BOSSON, Uly 32, 18018.

I HAB sad tidings to enform you. O, a few night sines I taught my last day surely come, a great number de white Truckermas got angry wid coase I spose so many bad girl who lib here, and threaten to demolish all de brack people housen! I don't know dat I can give you more shinne decription of de dreadful night work, den in de language of Massa POPE and MILTON.

'TWAS ten o'clock or dare about
When Pomp and I got snug in bed,
And just I blew de candle out,
A noise uncommon struck my head.

My husband say, "O dent be fright,
'Tis noting but some roguish boys,
Who come pon Negro Hill to fight,
And starve de peoples wid dare noise.

Well den I try to resse me,
But minnit fore I close my eye,
O such a creech I—Gor blessor me,
Some scream for help, some murder cry.

Ah quickly den I quit my bed,
Wid flint and brimmon strike a light,
And through de clapboard poke my head,
A saw, O me!—terrific sight!

It pere dare was a tussand men,
Look like so many goose in flock;
Each wid a cudgel in he hand,
And dressen most in whiten frock.

O Pomp, said I, what shall we do,
Spose deff dis night should be our fate,
Spose day should kill both I and you,
Ah what become of little Kate!

Or only tink dear Pomp, said I,
If day shood kill you wid a stone,
How den your Phillis tete wood cry
To see you kick and hear you groan.

Pomp den get up and seize he gun,
And say "'tis brack folk voice I hear,
He cock he piece and bout to run,
I beg him not to interfere.

Jase as I spoke a shower of stone,
Come rattle brag again our door,
One truck poor Pomp upon de shin
And bring him senseless to de floor!

Anoder truck poor Kasy head,
Which was he not fleec'd well wid wool,
Wood kill'd de little angel dead.
Or made de child a natral fool!!

O! Murder! Fire! help—help—I cry,
For dead I taught dat Hall broke loose,
De mob I try to pacify,
But all I say it prove no use.

I tell 'um Pomp he poor old man,
Not by keep gist he gain he food,
For while I wash, do all I can,
Pomp carn'd a trifle sawing wood.

"Hold your brask jaw!" one said to me,
"Or soon I break your CALLABASH!"
Anoder said "oh soon you see,
Wid club your COCANUT we smash!

Wase hang again the stone they flew,
Crack went de crockry on de shelf,
Great Goff, said I, what shall we do!
While Pomp cry—"Phillis save yourself!"

I then seize Kate up garret fly,
And into smoke house safely creep,
And still as Musquash dare we lie,
Till darkness fled and day-light peep.

'Twas den I venture just come down,
See what become of Pompey dear,
For all de night he dying groan,
Did rend my heart and pierce my ear,

Pomp! Pomp! I cry I, pray how are you,
"O Phillis!—just alive, dat all,
Stone come so thick, so swiftly flew,
I was oblige up chimney crawl."

Poor creature, he come creep to me,
Hobbling pon he wounded foot;
I never such an image see,
Cover'd from head to feet wid soot.

O such condition my house in,
I could set down whole day and cry,
And Pomp see wid his broken shin,
Perhaps poor creature yet may die.

De damage done no tongue can tell,
But I will try to let you know,
Long on de subject I cant dwell,
It make me feel all over so!

My parlour fill'd wid dirt and stone,
My Bureau smash, Card Table split,
My Bedstead broke, de Curtain torn,
And quite destroy my Dining-Set.

My Carpet rip from end to end,
And crack fly clock and split de case,
My Silver Spoon all bruise and bend,
My Sopha Cushee much deface.

My hogany Desk wid polish shine,
My Toilet Screen and Battledore,
My Coffee Urn and pipe of Wine,
Lie heap of rubbish on de floor.

My husband's spessive Library,
Perspective Glass and Map of State,
PORTRAIT (much like him e'er you see,)
Share pretty much wid de same fate.

O for a tousen tongues to tell,
And hearts to bear the woeful sight,
And eyes to weep for those who fell
With kick and blow dat awful night.

Some broken a arm some bleeding head,
Some sprain'd arm some bruises thigh,
And brack man lying almost dead,
Most every where wood meet your eye.

But yesterday poor Pompey he
Could say One Hundred Pound my lot,
But Sisser, if you will believe me,
One broken shin now all he got.

Here from de country late we move,
Jase wid more ease ourself maintain,
But chance we get for cash or love,
Pomp swear he move right back again.

Dear Sisser, I am yours feetionately, PHILLIS.

N. B. By de great detruction of my Furniture you will perceive my house was pretty genteel furnish—common Furniture will de in de country. But in Bosson or Providence if a body wish to be rekon any ting day muss conform to de fashion ob de place.

BOSTCRIPT.

MAIL wait for me to let you know,
Pomp get no better wid he shin;
De Doctors now advise him go,
Wid much delay to Baltimore Spring.
Doubtless dat tink dat so much pain
Proceed from fracture of de brain.

NOTICE.

POMPEY'S ABVERTISEMENT.

One Hundred Dollar Reward.

O YES—Know ye—all person—Whereas on or about de 23d inst. of Uly last, jase as my family retire to bed, and lull by pleasnt dream, One hundred or Ninety nine evil minded or chieveous person easil my Dwelling House, wid stone club and brick bat, shatter de clapboard, stave in de door, smash my window, tarnish my furniture, upset de wash tub, frighten Phillis my wife, krak little Kate my daughter head, fracture de skull bone of my shin, and otherwise very much injure my reputation as Street Sweeper in Generale—Herefore I offer a reward of 100 Dollar (to be paid in sawing wood at about 400-0000 cents de cord) for nother such tack from dem whiten frock fellow. POMPEY.

N. B. I board for de present hog wid Mr. Scip, Window Washer in General, opposite dance Hall No. 7, Rabble Street, where I may be spoke wid from 1 in de morning till 12 in de evening.

☞ To prevent bad mistake gemmen please observe dat I am not de same Pompey dat carry de letter for Cæsar, when he had de calleky on de Stone Chapsine step stone.

Black Mink Hill, 37 September last.

1816 broadside *Dreadful Riot on Negro Hill!* The Library Company of Philadelphia.

injured husband and child with a broom, that symbol of feminine domesticity. If these four men—along with their verse representation—stand in for varying forms of whiteness across class lines, then white men are violent, virulent racists. If they, along with the craven figure of Pomp, stand in for masculinity, then Phillis is a better man than any of them. The historiography is persuasive that these Bobalition texts were intended to rebuke the lower classes—including the white lower classes—for their lack of decorum and civility and for their violence and brutality. Certainly, *Dreadful Riot on Negro Hill!* portrays the white rioters as brutes. But indisputably, blacks are the objects and victims of this brutality, and while readers might tangentially understand the critique of white brutality, ridicule of black behavior takes center stage.

The recurring figure of an ignorant, grasping "Phillis," desperate to ape her white contemporaries, represents what the creators of the Bobalition texts understood as an attempt to overset race-based social status through the cultivation of gentility. It is no accident that the character bears the name "Phillis." As William Robinson, Phillip Lapsansky, Henry Louis Gates Jr., and John Wood Sweet have argued, the Bobalition Phillis consciously evokes Phillis Wheatley.[115] The Bobalition broadsides highjack Wheatley's dignity and strip her of her learning, evangelical faith, and perhaps most of all, of her sophisticated discourse, attributing to her instead nearly incomprehensible dialect. If language were the means through which Wheatley bridged the gap between herself and her white audience, it is language in the Bobalition texts that marks the Phillis character as a pretentious poser to the (supposed) gentility of the white middle class.

Two broadsides in particular seem to take special aim at Wheatley's use of language. The previously mentioned 1816 *Dreadful Riot on Negro Hill!* portrays Phillis promising to provide her sister a "sblime description of de dreadful night . . . in de language of Massa Pope and Milton." "Phillis" then relates her story in verse. As Gates observes in *The Signifying Monkey*: "What is curious about this broadside is that its parody turns upon both a denigrating mockery of black dialect and an intimate familiarity with the model of the parody. The latter is an aspect of all successful parody."[116] That is to say, in order to mock Wheatley, the author of the verse had to know her work and her standing in post-Revolutionary culture—and in particular, had to know her poetic debt to Alexander Pope—in order to create a recognizable parody,[117] requirements which make it unlikely that a lower-class worker authored the broadside. Throughout the poem, Phillis relates the destruction of her personal articles: her carpet, bureau, card table, silver spoon, mahogany desk, and coffee urn are

all destroyed. The poem concludes with a nota bene to her sister: "N.B. By de great detruction of my Furniture you will perceive my house was pretty genteel furnish—common Furniture will do in de country. But in Bosson or Providence if a body wish to be rekon any ting day muss conform to de fashion ob de place."[118] Although fashion was never noted by any of her contemporaries as an interest of Wheatley's, her gentility, modesty, and refined aesthetic tastes were matters of much concern, to Phillis and Susannah Wheatley and to her detractors.[119] Here, white men destroy the symbols of "Phillis's" pretensions to gentility, suggesting to the reader that shows of gentility on the part of people of color were not innate but the product of mimicry.[120] What this broadside ignores, rather than attacks, however, is her devoutness.

The 1824 broadside *Hard Scrabble, or Miss Philises Bobalition* operates under a similar logic. In this doggerel verse, "Phillis" describes how her genteel possessions, including her "Beaurau" and "Potrait," were destroyed by the white "rabble / who 'tack us like furies wid a high diddle diddle!" Remarkably, the genteel "potrait" that gave rise to the frontispiece of *Poems on Various Subjects* and to the cover of *Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack* rankled racist whites, fifty years after those volumes' initial publication. "Phillis" goes on to explain that her household was attacked to force those in the black settlement of Hard Scrabble to

> . . . no longer live lives immoral and lazy,
> But gain honest living by sweat ob our brow.

If they do so—if they understand their place as lower-class physical laborers in the racial economy—then "Depend on't de white folk won't den trouble or 'tack us."[121] Joanne Pope Melish argues in *Disowning Slavery* that "the use of pidgin/creole dialect as a code for 'black' can be read as an effort to establish an undifferentiated social identity for free people of color as a group, to distance or estrange that group from whites' social identity, and to establish its unbridgeable mental difference."[122] The consequence of this pidgin language is that "Phillis" becomes an alien other, deliberately denied the "sympathetic identifications across racial boundaries" that Max Cavitch saw at work in her elegies.[123] This "Phillis" could never claim a place in the elite discourse communities in Boston and, this broadside suggests, neither could any other person of color.

Repugnant as they are, the "Phillis" Bobalition broadsides suggest to us several important points. First, they intimate just how threatening to some whites was Wheatley's entrance into the public world of print, especially through her

Hard Scrabble,

OR MISS PHILISES BOBALITION

O Dear dear what can the de matter be,
Dear, dear what can de matter be,
Pomp gone so long from Phillis away ;
He promise to buy me a tamnah and tighters,
A Vlud and a Crape and Silk Tucking to put on,
And a bunch of fine feather to dress my bonnet so gay
O Dear, dear, &c.

O, O, so miserable last we lib in Hard Scrabble,
Till rested and driven away by the rabble,
Who 'tack us like fleas wid a high diddle diddle !
Demolish our dwelling, smash Bureau and Cradle,
My Gin Jug and Spatter, my Potash and Ladle,
My Candlestand, Chairs, and poor Pompey's Fiddle
O Dear, dear, &c.

O ! O ! such a time I neber before see,
De Mobbies rose wid' / like a flock of sad humble bee
Rip open my bed and scatter de feather !
Almost as wid Brick Bat, wid Crowbare and Shovels,
And drove us poor wretches away from our hovels
To seek shelter out door expose to de wether
O Dear, dear, &c.

Pomp and I had jus sat on a clean and col custard,
And just topping off wid dessert of tom thrum & mustard
When first intimation without a forewarning—
Every window was smash in, and, O, goody gu !
Pomp leap from de table and cry ' Fly Phillis Fly,'
Or we both shall be instived I believe morrow morning.
O Dear, dear, &c.

O, de next morning such condition our village,
So late de scene of confusion, fear and pillage,
O ! it near broke de heart of my poor aged mother !
De chimnies and walls were den rolling or falling,
Plus Cato's hat prop'd up, and Cæsar's leg sprawling,
And mire' goody gu ! nothing left but de cellar !
O Dear, dear, &c.

De mud Clay & brick dust lay so thick in Hard Scrabble,
I was 'blige hold up my shirt to prevent it from drabble
And de lasts for a mile was spread wid less feather ;
Here lay my new battuck and dere Pompey's garter
And my plaster and Coffee Cup bury'd in Mortar,
In miserious ruin all by together.
O Dear, dear, &c.

Pomp has told me of Earthquakes Spoil and Torn shoes
O Tempests, Hurricanes, Gouts and Volcanoes,
Of battle at sea and battle on shore ;
Of Turks and of Hottentots, Indians and Moors,
Of Rogues and Crocodiles Leonard and Bores,
But he neber *see* nor *hear* such destruction before.
O Dear, dear, &c.

Some few weeks arter some were reign for a trial,
Dare were Peter and Moses and Jim and Abial,
And some forty or fifty or twenty or ten ;
But de damage 'twas judge was by some shock of nature,
Mr. Nobody did it ! O what a wile creature,
So de court find um No Guilty and tell um to go.
O dear what a Rogue Mr. Nobody.

Mr. Nobody, wretch ! soon invisible d—l
De biggest brick block in a moment he level
Sen what he did bout tre months ago ;
He demolish a building near four stories high,
And level the whole in a twink of an eye.
Pray who did it ? Why Nobody know.
O dear, dear, &c.

I guess it best now for us brack folks be easy,
And no finger live from immortal buzy,
But gain honest living by sweat oh our brow ;
Depend on't de white folk won't den trouble or 'tack us,
For should they visit us gain they may find it foul wether
But de good people of Providence will always respect us,
As they see want to respect all good people now.
O dear, dear, &c.

So Miss Boston keep home your lazy black rabble,
Nor compel them seek shelter again at Hard Scrabble,
For every maggot should stick to he nose ;
We've plenty of Tar and de ground aren't wid Fether
And we're Pitch to pitch you all out of door.
O dear, dear, &c.

So while Pomp earn a little by honest day labour,
I'll wash and make soup for some of my neighbour,
And ish by industry to honest folks do ;
Pomp throw by your Fiddle & I'll smash de Gin Bottle
And soon we'll be able to build up our hovel
And more steady course we both will pursue.
O dear, dear, and so fort.

1824 broadside *Hard Scrabble, or Miss Philises Bobalition*. Harris Collection of American Poetry and Plays, John Hay Library, Brown University Library.

use of the vehicle of the broadside elegy. Just as the ability of an African slave to compose poetry that gained her the respect and admiration of readers here and abroad was energizing to advocates of racial equality, so was it profoundly disorienting and disabling to foes of racial equality who sought to organize class relations along a racial axis. No other African American writer of her era provoked such an enduring response. In parodic fashion, the Bobalition broadsides sought to reclaim aesthetic production—especially in the realm of print—as the province of white men. Ironically, they could not do so without reminding readers of Wheatley's intellectual and aesthetic accomplishments. These Bobalition broadsides also indicate that if the broadside could be used to *empower* the disadvantaged, to give them a public platform, it could also be used to intimidate them.

Despite their vile mockery of Wheatley, Bobalition texts represent important interventions in the evolution of race- and class-based identity in the United States. Throughout the colonial period, skin color had been an important marker, but limitations upon freedom were not associated solely with blackness. Many people, regardless of color, were unfree, not only through slavery but also through indenture, imprisonment, or impressment. Whiteness was no guarantee of freedom, nor was blackness a warrant of captivity. It was not until the end of the eighteenth century, through a long and complicated pro-

cess, that chattel slavery and blackness came to be inextricably linked as the dominant form of unfreeness.[124]

Conversely, whiteness alone did not entail elite status in the late colonial and early national periods; elite status depended also on ancestry and ethnicity, wealth and property ownership, education, modes of literacy, profession, kinship and social networks, religious preference, sexual orientation, gender expression, and the ability to abstain from physical labor. And yet less tangible qualities such as refinement and gentility also contributed to social status. Wheatley emerges as a key figure in *Empowering Words* because, through her learning, refinement, faith, wit, and aesthetic gifts, she was able—at least temporarily—to mitigate other signifiers of status, such as property, and even to sometimes use her race and captive status to give herself a privileged position as speaker, as she does in her poem "To the Right Honourable William, Earl of Dartmouth," when she asks:

> Should you, my lord, while you peruse my song,
> Wonder from whence my love of *Freedom* sprung,
> Whence flow these wishes for the common good,
> By feeling hearts alone best understood,
> I, young in life, by seeming cruel fate
> Was snatch'd from *Afric's* fancy'd happy seat:
> What pangs excruciating must molest,
> What sorrows labour in my parent's breast?[125]

Wheatley's loss and grief here empower her to speak authoritatively about the nature of freedom. By tapping into the deep-seated New England tradition of elegiac verse, in which grief had to defer to joy at divine communion, Wheatley was able to offer consolatory messages that proved popular with audiences of all classes.

The opportunity to mitigate race-based class assumptions through gentility and accomplishment seems to have been significantly undermined during the era of the Bobalition broadsides in the first few decades of the nineteenth century. Not until the mid-nineteenth century was the widespread outrage of the black middle class at the social superiority of ignorant, uncouth lower-class whites frequently and cogently expressed in such works by African Americans as *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* and *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, both of which still required literary sponsors, many decades after Phillis Wheatley's death. Similar outrage was expressed by some white abolitionists, in works such as Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, who were incensed

that the traits associated with cultural refinement, such as education, gentility, and sensibility, were automatically trumped by skin color. These expressions of outrage suggest fissures in the way in which racial identification had come, over a period of decades, to supersede other features of class as a way of organizing American social structures. This privileging of color over all else called into question the very basis of the middle class in the nineteenth century. If gentility could not always serve to distinguish the middle class from the lower classes, then the very value of gentility itself was at stake.

In the late colonial and Revolutionary eras, as Phillis Wheatley's meteoric rise suggests, such class and race divisions were still being worked out. In 1782, Phillis Wheatley could appear in a vignette on the title page of *Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack*, suggesting the extent to which the poet had become identified with Boston at large, not merely the evangelical stratum. For one brief moment, the ultimate outsider became an insider. Such identification was simply not imaginable by the early decades of the nineteenth century, as the Bobalition broadsides threateningly insinuate. But in the late eighteenth century, before attitudes toward race hardened into the positions that would dominate the antebellum era, Phillis Wheatley could become both a touchstone and a role model for other people of color who sought to enter into print. Although gentility and wit might have failed Wheatley in the decades after her death, her evangelical faith was not questioned, and other people of color, such as Briton Hammon and John Marrant, similarly sought to use faith to define themselves in print.

Chapter 2

An "Englishman under English Colours"

Briton Hammon, John Marrant, and the Fungibility of Christian Faith

The varied strategies that Phillis Wheatley employed to navigate her way into the Anglo-American literary scene—sophisticated mastery of the English language, support from powerful patrons, carefully planned literacy events, emphasis on her evangelical faith, deployment of the wildly popular Christian elegy, and use of the inexpensive medium of the broadside and later a poetry collection—ensured her appeal and access to both the elite and ordinary people. These strategies enabled Wheatley's works to infiltrate the regional New England market as well as metropolitan London. Most of these publishing strategies, however, simply were not available en masse to American outsiders of her era. Other outsiders would rely more narrowly on one or two of the strategies that Wheatley employed—and consequently would achieve less renown.

Briton Hammon and John Marrant were roughly contemporaneous to Wheatley and share many similarities: both men were black, unfree to varying degrees, and forcibly moved across the Atlantic. Both men evinced evangelical Christian faith, and both parlayed this faith into a print identity as Christian Englishmen. However, where Wheatley chose the elegy as her signature genre and the broadside as her medium, Hammon and Marrant struggled to fit their experiences into the pamphlet-length captivity narrative, a genre that likewise had enormous audience appeal. As a genre, the captivity narrative was structured to encompass the experiences of people who literally lived on the margins of Anglo-American culture. Collaboration of some kind in authorship, editing, and publishing was typical for eighteenth-century captivity narratives. For these reasons, the captivity narrative was particularly well suited to enable literary access to individuals from wide-ranging backgrounds.[1]

Translated into the captivity narrative and answering the need of the evangelical empire to believe in the superiority of Anglo-American Christianity, Hammon's and Marrant's experiences earned them entry into print.[2] To explore the extraordinary nature of Briton Hammon's and John Marrant's appropriation of the captivity narrative and their collaborative ventures, I will need to discuss patterns of literacy acquisition in the eighteenth century, particularly as they pertain to people of color. I will also explore how each author literally maps himself as an English Protestant onto the evangelical empire that had come to overlay the British Empire in the North Atlantic. By exploring the relationships among literacy, the English language, Christianity, and Englishness, we can better understand what was at stake in each collaborative iteration of their respective captivity experiences.

Not all captives' stories were equally valuable. People of African descent had long been taken captive by Native Americans, as newspaper accounts and local histories attest,[3] but these stories often lacked cultural resonance. What made Hammon's and Marrant's stories different? In a legal and cultural environment in which black men were viewed primarily as property and valued for their labor, what kind of cultural capital would a black captive need to manifest in order for his or her story to have value in the literary marketplace? Absent the unique set of circumstances under which Phillis Wheatley succeeded in entering into print, what other circumstances and historical contingencies would enable blackness to become legible? In *Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings, and Surprizing Deliverance of Briton Hammon, a Negro Man* and *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, a Black*, we find answers to some of these questions.

Published in Boston in 1760, Hammon's narrative was the earliest published work by a black man in British North America, and, as such, it signaled the beginning of the halting process by which a person of color might participate in the bourgeois public sphere of print as envisioned by Jürgen Habermas. The necessary ingredients for Hammon's success were connection to a powerful patron, reliance on the wildly popular genre of the captivity narrative, and, perhaps most important, Hammon's development of an individual public identity for himself as first and foremost a Protestant Englishman, bolstered by his association with literacy. These three components of identity—the national and the religious affiliations, along with functional literacy—were crucial, for Hammon's narrative was published in the specific rhetorical context of the French and Indian War, a time when English colonials were keenly aware of the implications of other national and religious affiliations. Narratives such as Hammon's reified the

strong anti-Indian sentiment generated by the alliance between multiple Indian tribes and the French. His particular text also expanded the range of individual identities that could be encompassed by the collective identity of "English."

While Hammon's captivity narrative was published only once in Boston in the midst of the French and Indian War and would have experienced limited circulation, Marrant's narrative, published twenty-five years later in the metropolitan environment of London and participating in larger conversations about evangelical outreach to Indian and black populations, more neatly fit the genre. Like his later publications, his captivity narrative illustrates the importance of orality in collaborative projects. Marrant's oral narrative of his conversion and captivity experience, delivered at his ordination into the Huntingdon Connexion at the Bath Chapel, gave rise to two competing versions of his life story: the first edition of his prose *Narrative*, transcribed by clergyman William Aldridge, and Samuel Whitchurch's long narrative poem, *The Negro Convert*. These contending versions of Marrant's story provided crucial incentive for him to take ownership of his public identity in the revised and expanded fourth edition of the *Narrative* and to carve out theological space for himself within Anglo-American evangelism. The affiliative identity that Hammon and Marrant grasped as black colonial Englishmen was eminently portable but only briefly available. The Revolutionary War and the birth of the new United States would make it rhetorically challenging for black men to claim an American identity, even as new space emerged in the national imaginary for white women and working men. For a time, however, pious black men found space for themselves within both the political and religious empires.

Briton Hammon's Creative Appropriation of the Captivity Narrative

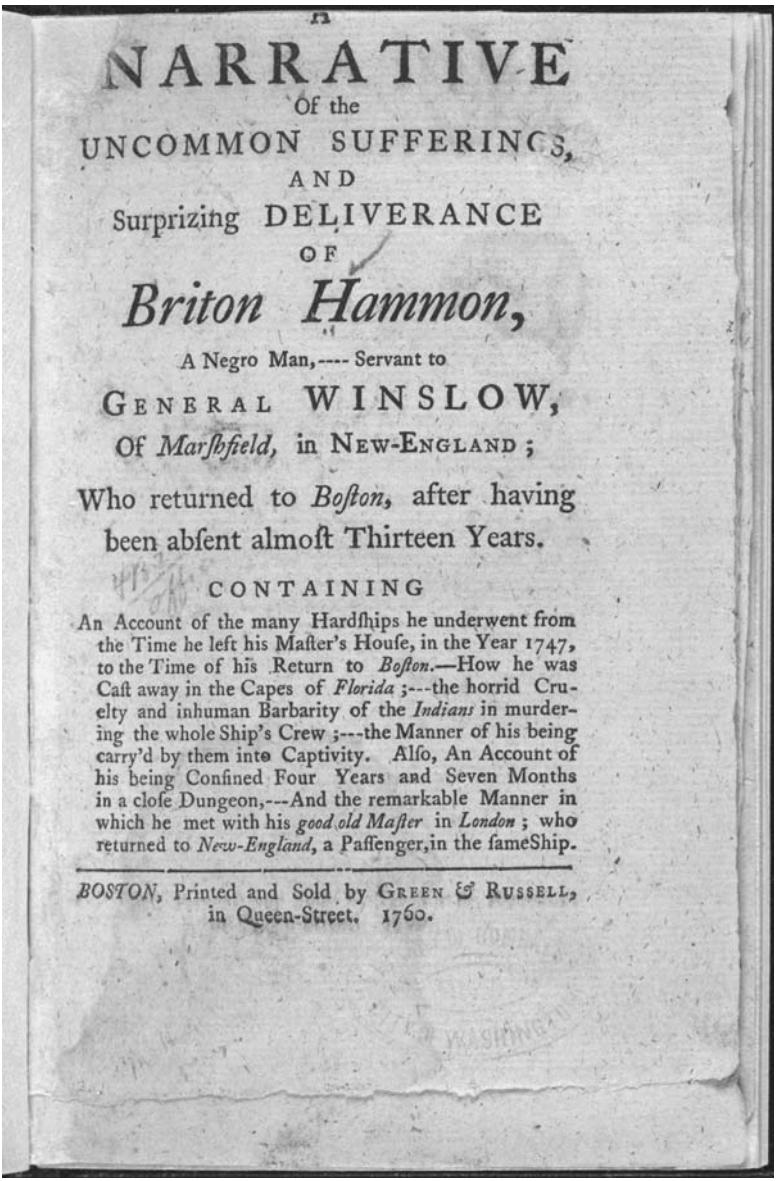
In a concise fourteen pages, *Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings, and Surprizing Deliverance of Briton Hammon, a Negro Man* relates Hammon's captivity among Indians in Florida, his rescue by a Spanish sea captain, and a second captivity by the Spanish in Cuba, from which he was rescued by an English sea captain. At first glance, his narrative differs little from other such tales that had undergone a surge in popularity in the midst of the French and Indian War. And yet Hammon's narrative fits somewhat uneasily in the captivity genre, a factor that may help explain its short-lived public life.

While a number of important dynamics facilitated the publication of Ham-

mon's narrative, his association with a powerful white man, General John Winslow (1705–74) of Marshfield, Massachusetts, undoubtedly laid the groundwork. Winslow, the man whom Hammon styles as his "master," served multiple terms in the Massachusetts legislature and was a great grandson of Edward Winslow, the three-term governor of the Plymouth Colony. A popular military leader, General Winslow had recently come into the public eye for his role in removing the French Acadians from Nova Scotia.

The exact nature of the relationship between Hammon and General Winslow is unclear, however. Was Hammon merely employed by Winslow? Was he an indentured servant? Or was he enslaved to him?[4] For scholars searching for the origins of African American literature, particularly the slave narrative, these questions matter. Textual evidence through which to determine the nature of their relationship is slight. The title of Hammon's work—which most likely would have been determined by the printer—identifies him as "A Negro Man,—Servant to GENERAL WINSLOW." Later in the extended title, Winslow is described as Hammon's "good old Master." In only two places within the narrative proper does Hammon identify Winslow as his "Master." The first mention occurs in the very first sentence of the narrative, when Hammon describes himself as leaving Marshfield to go to sea "with the leave of my Master."[5] And, at the narrative's conclusion, when Hammon coincidentally—or providentially, as he styles it—meets Winslow in England after twelve years spent as a captive, first of the Indians and then of the Spanish, Hammon describes him as his "*good Master*."[6] The only other internal evidence that might suggest Hammon's status appears in the preface, in which Hammon ostensibly describes himself by saying "my Capacities and Condition of Life are very low."[7] Given the rhetorical convention of humility in eighteenth-century prefaces, this statement tells us virtually nothing and might have been an invention of the printer.

It was certainly possible that Hammon was enslaved to Winslow. As Joanne Pope Melish explains in *Disowning Slavery*: "Many male slaves could enact a relatively free and independent work life within the conventions of slave labor as a consequence of the seasonal rhythm and special requirements for labor in New England." She notes: "These arrangements were not equivalent to freedom . . . yet they did enable slaves to establish self-directed patterns of work within the institution of slavery."[8] Given the proximity of most of New England to the coast, maritime work provided the primary source of independent employment opportunities for slaves; they might work as sailors, dockworkers, or skilled laborers associated with shipbuilding and outfitting ships.



NARRATIVE

Of the

UNCOMMON SUFFERINGS,

AND

Surprizing DELIVERANCE

OF

Briton Hammon,

A Negro Man,---- Servant to

GENERAL WINSLOW,

Of *Marſhfield,* in NEW-ENGLAND;

Who returned to *Boſton,* after having been abſent almoſt Thirteen Years.

CONTAINING

An Account of the many Hardſhips he underwent from the Time he left his Maſter's Houſe, in the Year 1747, to the Time of his Return to *Boſton.*—How he was Caſt away in the Capes of *Florida*;---the horrid Cruelty and inhuman Barbarity of the *Indians* in murdering the whole Ship's Crew;---the Manner of his being carry'd by them into Captivity. Alſo, An Account of his being Confined Four Years and Seven Months in a cloſe Dungeon,---And the remarkable Manner in which he met with his *good old Maſter* in *London*; who returned to *New-England,* a Paſſenger, in the ſame Ship.

BOSTON, Printed and Sold by GREEN & RUSSELL, in Queen-Street. 1760.

Title page of *A Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings, and Surprizing Deliverance of Briton Hammon, a Negro Man* (Boston, 1760). Library of Congress.

Although possible, it seems improbable that Hammon was enslaved. First, as Vincent Carretta points out, the word "master" had multiple valences in the eighteenth century and was commonly used to indicate an employer. While Carretta concedes that owners sometimes allowed their slaves to hire out their labor, "for an owner to have permitted a slave to work more than a thousand miles away would have been an extraordinary act of faith."[9] Further, it would be odd, to say the least, that Hammon, after twelve years of independently managing his affairs, would express such joy and gratitude at being reunited with Winslow if it meant that he would once again be enslaved. Finally, Hammon is not mentioned in the probate documents of General Winslow, who died in 1774, fourteen years after the publication of Hammon's narrative.[10] Cumulatively, this evidence suggests that Hammon was probably not a slave at the time of his voyage.

While Hammon's status cannot be proven conclusively based on either his narrative or known legal documents, it seems clear that the relationship between Hammon and Winslow was a close one, making it probable that Winslow in some way facilitated the publication of Hammon's narrative. Hammon explains that when Winslow's identity was "joyfully verify'd by a happy Sight of his Person," Hammon was so "overcome . . . that I could not speak to him for some Time." In turn, Winslow "was exceedingly glad to see me, telling me that I was like one arose from the Dead, for he thought I had been Dead a great many Years, having heard nothing of me for almost Thirteen Years."[11] We may reasonably surmise, then, that once they had returned to Massachusetts, Winslow's renown and political authority aided Hammon in connecting with a printer who might be interested in his story.[12] Although Hammon's narrative is absent the paratextual material often included in such narratives that served, to the mind of the reading public, to authenticate its truthfulness (such as a preface by or letter from a figure of authority), the repeated use of Winslow's name prefacing the narrative and at its conclusion tacitly authenticates the details of Hammon's story.

While association with Winslow, whom we might well call a literary patron in the broadest sense of the term, assisted Hammon in achieving print publication, genre also played a significant role in the publication of his narrative. Hammon's story, like John Marrant's 1785 *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, a Black*, was written in the form of the captivity narrative, a genre indigenous to the New World. The captivity narrative had appealed to Anglo-American colonials since King Philip's War, with each

conflict with the native population bringing about reprinting of earlier texts and publication of new ones. The Seven Years' War, which was fought from 1755 to 1763 and was known in British America as the French and Indian War, brought about resurgence in the captivity narrative, as the French encouraged the Indians to capture English settlers, who were then taken to Canada. Once freed or ransomed, captives recounted their experiences, either authoring their narratives themselves or through a collaborative process with an editor or amanuensis. These narratives were then published in pamphlet form or in brief newspaper extracts. The pamphlet format was crucial, for it enabled these texts to be produced inexpensively on cheap paper with paper covers.

Boston, the publication site for Hammon's narrative, was a major publishing center for captivity narratives at this time, and reading audiences avidly consumed the stories of captivity of English people, for in the 1760s colonials indisputably thought of themselves as such. At the same time, these narratives fanned anti-French, anti-Catholic, and anti-Indian sentiment. The expanded title of one edition of such a work, *A Narrative of the Sufferings and Surprizing Deliverances of William and Elizabeth Fleming*, vividly illustrates the partisan nature of these sentiments, describing it as "*A Narrative necessary to be read by . . . every British Subject. Wherein it fully appears, that the Barbarities of the Indians is owing to the French, and chiefly their Priests*." The Fleming narrative appeared in seven editions in 1756, one of which was published by the Boston firm of Green and Russell—the same printer who would publish Hammon's narrative four years later, and the very same printer who included the lengthy, inflammatory subtitle for their particular edition of the Fleming narrative.[13] In fact, the Green and Russell publishing firm was a stalwart in publishing captivity narratives of the French and Indian War, including not only Hammon's and Fleming's narratives, but also an edition of Robert Eastburn's *A Faithful Narrative* (1758). Other Boston firms also published or reprinted editions of captivity narratives during the 1750s and 1760s, including Elizabeth Hanson's *God's Mercy Surmounting Man's Cruelty, Exemplified in the Captivity and Redemption of Elizabeth Hanson* in 1754; John Williams's *The Redeemed Captive, Returning to Zion* in 1758; Jean Lowry's *A Journal of the Captivity of Jean Lowry and Her Children* in 1760; Alexander Henry's *An Account of the Captivity of William Henry* in 1766; and "Adventure of a Young English Officer among the Abenakee Savages" in *Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack* in 1768. Boston was a hotbed of anti-French, anti-Catholic, and anti-Indian sentiment, with captivity narratives both appealing to these sentiments and further inflaming them.

Although Hammon himself was not a combatant in the French and Indian

War, his narrative appeared in the context of the hostility that important conflict generated toward the indigenous population of North America and toward people of the Catholic faith. His adversarial relationship with the Indians of Florida enabled him, as a black man, to become visible in the public sphere as an individual. John Sekora remarked on the relationship between the genre of Hammon's narrative and the fact of its publication: "If the story of a black man or woman was to be told at all, that story would necessarily be shaped into a popular form. No form was more popular than the captivity [narrative], and no figure loomed larger in the colonial imagination than the Native American."[14] Although Hammon has relatively little to say about the Native people who captured him—and in fact he does not even name their tribe[15]—narratives such as his reified the strong anti-Indian sentiment generated by the alliance between multiple Indian tribes and the French, and as such helped expand the range of individual identities that could be encompassed by the larger collective identity of "English."

As with many other captivity narratives, vexed questions of authorship complicate the effort to understand the publication of Hammon's narrative and the implications of this event, for the extent to which Hammon exercised control over his narrative is unclear. As John Sekora notes, similarities exist between the style and language of the narratives of Hammon and Thomas Brown.[16] What are the implications of these similarities? Did Hammon independently author his own tale? Was he assisted in rendering it in the house style of his printers? Or did he require the assistance of an amanuensis-editor, who recorded Hammon's story as he narrated it, a method of composition common to captivity narratives?[17] Hammon tells readers of his narrative: "I shall only relate Matters of Fact as they occur to my Mind," a turn of phrase that suggests he may have originally delivered his story orally.[18] The exact nature of the composition process will likely continue to elude us, because Hammon disappears from the literary and historical record after the advertising and publication of his narrative. Consequently, the degree to which it represents the individual voice of its subject is unknown.

Given that Hammon's was the first production by an African American in the British colonies, the authorship of his narrative has figured largely in debates about the role of editors and amanuenses in the tradition of African and African American authorship, particularly of autobiographical works. These questions of authority are not reserved for Hammon's narrative (or, for that matter, the works of John Marrant). Similar considerations surround many captivity narratives detailing the experiences of white captives, including those

of near contemporaries of Hammon such as Mary Kinnan and Frances Scott. It is fair to say, however, that the authenticity of captivity texts detailing the experiences of women or nonwhites is more frequently subject to such questioning than texts purporting to be authored by white men. William L. Andrews has taken up this issue with regard to the production of such possibly collaborative texts by black writers: "From a literary standpoint . . . it is not the moral integrity of these editors that is at issue but the linguistic, structural, and tonal integrity of the narratives they produced." "It is the editor," he concludes, "who contextualizes the essential facts of the narrator's dictation and thus has much to do with how they will be received as institutional facts by their white readers."[19] Scholarly anxiety over these issues is understandable, because the origins of African American literature are at stake. Clearly, the publishing firm of Green and Russell played a crucial role in bringing Hammon's narrative to print and in providing an interpretive context for it.

Exploring the issues evoked by Hammon's narrative allows us to consider metaquestions about the issue of collaboration in captivity narratives and personal narratives in general published during the late eighteenth century, which has repercussions for the individuals discussed in *Empowering Words*. The printed works of Phillis Wheatley, Briton Hammon, John Marrant, Deborah Sampson, John Howland, and other mechanics were facilitated by editors, patrons, collaborators, amanuenses, or sponsoring organizations in varying degrees and combinations. Providing us with an alternate view, Clementina Rind herself facilitated the publication of other amateur authors in her newspaper. I raise these issues not to question the validity or authenticity of their works, but rather to enrich our understanding of how outsiders were able to represent themselves in the print public sphere.

Being poor, enslaved, indentured, imprisoned, or illiterate did not doom one to invisibility in early America, even if one lacked Phillis Wheatley's extraordinary connections. Indeed, as print flourished in the period from the 1760s through the 1810s, new opportunities and new means of access to the print public sphere emerged for nonelite individuals. In the case of Briton Hammon and John Marrant, the always popular captivity genre was crucial in enabling men who would otherwise have been culturally invisible to become visible. The captivity genre in particular would have been familiar to all Americans in the eighteenth century, regardless of their degree of literacy. Aside from pamphlet-length narratives, images of captivity appeared on broadsides and as frontispieces. Songs, such as the fragmentary, satirical "Bars Fight," by the black poet Lucy Terry, recalled important local conflicts.[20] Newspapers and other forms of

the popular press likewise printed short pieces about captives. Given the wide reach of the genre, even the illiterate "could easily have had access to the captivity narrative tradition," as Sharon Harris asserts.[21]

Although information about African American literacy in the eighteenth century is limited, it is possible to generalize about literacy, particularly in the northern colonies and states, from which we can speculate about the likelihood of Hammon being able to read and write. Reading and writing were taught as separate skills in colonial America, with primary emphasis on reading. Reading was essential for biblical literacy, which was extraordinarily important in colonial New England, even for people of color. A brief anecdote from *A Faithful Narrative of the Wicked Life and Remarkable Conversion of Patience Boston Alias Samson* (1738) illustrates this emphasis. Boston, an Indian woman who married a "Negro Servant," blamed her heavy drinking and violent lifestyle for the death of an infant shortly after its birth. During a brief period of reform while pregnant a second time, Boston recalls: "I . . . loved to hear my Husband read, and would sit up to read my self after the Folks were in bed."[22] Boston was taught to read as a young child by the family to whom she was indentured after her mother died. Presumably her husband's "Master" had similarly taught him to read during his childhood. Reading instruction requires only a book or other printed material and is relatively low cost. While printed material would have been limited in availability at the mid-eighteenth century mark, limited access to printed texts would have reinforced the whole-word method of reading that was prevalent in New England at the time and that was readily facilitated by the popular practice of reading Scripture aloud. The whole-word method, combined with a Protestant culture that emphasized reading aloud, seems to have been an important factor enabling autodidacticism among individuals with limited formal instruction.[23]

In 1760, when Hammon's narrative was published, New England had the highest literacy rate of any region in the English colonies: approximately 80 percent of white men were literate, a figure that would rise to 90 percent by 1790. Even in rural areas, Kenneth Lockridge argues, literacy rates for farmers rose from 60 percent in 1710 to 80 percent by 1760.[24] Unintended consequences emerged from this increase in literacy rates: "The result of the powerful rise in farmer literacy to levels ultimately approaching 85%, and of comparable long-term increases among rural artisans and laborers, was a male literacy so nearly universal that it effectively ended old associations between literacy and social distinctions."[25] This literacy was empowering to Americans, as I argue throughout *Empowering Words*. However, because Lockridge's comments concern a co-

hort of rural, predominantly white Anglo-Americans, we cannot assume that blacks—even free blacks—would have had the same literacy rates, although E. Jennifer Monaghan notes in *Learning to Read and Write in Colonial America* that apprenticeship papers for free blacks generally included the same provisions for education as did apprenticeship papers for white men.[26] Hammon inhabited a world in which the vast majority of adult men were literate, making it probable that he, too, could read at least a little.[27] If he could not read independently, he had a functional understanding of literacy.

Contemporary social and economic conditions and local attitudes make it less likely that Hammon had the writing skills necessary to record his narrative, however. Unlike present-day writing pedagogy, in which composition is understood primarily as an expressive skill, writing in colonial America was taught as an exercise in self-discipline. This self-discipline developed not only from the physical manner in which letters were formed on the page and how line lengths were to be carefully controlled, but also from the kinds of prompts that writing teachers used. Monaghan explains the pedagogical method in this way: "Rather than teaching a child to express himself, the writing masters focused on those aspects of writing instruction that looked to its form, its purely visual properties. The job of the writing master was to teach a variety of scripts, and the fundamental task of the student was to learn how to represent the words of others in these scripts."[28] Writing instruction was firmly linked to fine penmanship. Although early in the eighteenth century Latin schools had predominated in the Northeast, by the mid-eighteenth century, writing skills, which were increasingly useful to commercial life, became desirable.[29] Monaghan lists four reasons for the growing popularity of writing instruction in the eighteenth century: (1) A practical education, which equipped young men for business pursuits, rather than a classical education emphasizing instruction in Latin, became seen as increasingly desirable;[30] (2) writing masters gained prestige, which attracted more individuals to the profession;[31] (3) by the 1760s, writing implements, stationery, ink, and seals were available in significantly greater abundance and styles than in previous decades, although still expensive and out of reach of the poor;[32] (4) the growing economic prosperity of middling sorts of people, allied to their aspirations toward gentility, enabled more people than before to afford to educate their children. Writing was one such mark of gentility. "The skill of writing had long been considered a necessity for boys but a suitable activity only for elite girls. Now, as the notion of gentility spread down the social scale, writing instructors were able to capitalize on a view of

penmanship that placed it in the forefront of the genteel arts that girls should acquire."[33] Taken together, these factors contributed to a great increase in writing instruction among elite and middling white Americans over the course of the eighteenth century.

Given that Hammon was black, in service to General Winslow, and practiced no trade other than that of sailor, rendering his "Capacities and Conditions of Life . . . very low,"[34] it seems improbable that his family or employers paid for writing instruction for him. In addition to this practical consideration are important cultural prohibitions. In *Learning to Read and Write in Colonial America*, Monaghan explains: "It is striking how universal the assumption was, even among those prepared to offer their enslaved Africans some education, that it was legitimate to teach reading but not writing. This assumption illustrates the unstated but deeply held belief among colonists that writing acquisition was somehow the hallmark of the free. Quite apart from its potential for forging a pass, it marked a person's identity in a way that the skill of reading did not."[35] These factors make it unlikely that Hammon possessed enough skill in writing to compose his own narrative. Instead, his is probably an as-told-to story—a narrative that he related to an amanuensis, perhaps the printer of his narrative, someone associated with General Winslow, or even Winslow himself. For outsiders, this kind of collaborative writing experience was typical, especially in the captivity genre.

Regardless of who actually recorded *Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings, and Surprizing Deliverance* by taking pen to paper, its textual presentation argues for it as the narrative of a black man. Hammon was understood not only as *an author*, but as *the author* of his narrative. Advertising supported that inference. The title of his narrative was published four times in classified advertisements between 30 June 1760 and 21 July 1760, prominently declaring Briton Hammon's story to be that of the "sufferings" and "deliverance" of "A Negro Man."[36] Given this comparatively heavy advertising and its presentation as an ethnic text, contemporary readers were unlikely to concern themselves much with exacting details of authorship and agency. Further, whether his was an authorial or collaborative role, Hammon was necessarily an active participant in the creation of his narrative, as suggested by the degree of specificity in his narrative, an issue discussed later in this chapter. The production of his narrative places Hammon on the Anglo-American side of what Andrew Newman defines as the "literacy frontier," that "area of contact between cultures with widespread literacy and those with little or no exposure to reading and

writing."[37] That is to say, Hammon's participation in creating his narrative defined him as a member of the literate, Protestant, Anglo-American community at a time when understandings of race remained fluid.

At the same time, working within the parameters of the captivity genre enabled Hammon to develop an individual identity for himself beyond the descriptor in the title that identifies him as "A Negro Man." Mary Louise Pratt labels as "autoethnographic" those texts in which "colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that *engage with* the colonizer's terms."[38] This was precisely Hammon's strategy, for the identity that emerges from the body of his narrative is that of the Christian Englishman. Hammon's tactic would become a common one in subsequent decades, as nonwhite people used Christianity to overcome their social and political invisibility and make themselves legible in the public sphere of print. As I argued in the first chapter, Wheatley adopted this strategy by developing the Christian elegy as her signature genre. In Hammon's case, captivity, first by Indians and then by the Spanish, enabled him to emphasize his Protestant Christianity and hence his essential Englishness as a product of culture, rather than race; as Sharon Harris notes, "the captivity narrative is recognized as a community-binding and colonist-aggrandizing document."[39] As an English Protestant, Hammon's identity became fungible, and his narrative sought to enlist him in the Anglo-American community.

Captivity, Christianity, and the Development of Cultural Capital

Like many such works, *Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings, and Surprizing Deliverance of Briton Hammon, a Negro Man* is a hybrid text, drawing upon the conventions of both the conversion narrative and the sea adventure story. Its strongest generic relationship, however, the genre that gives shape to Hammon's experiences, is the captivity narrative. Given this circumstance, we must consider how Hammon's text was received as a literary artifact within the context of captivity literature. As Christopher Castiglia explains in *Bound and Determined*, captivity narratives frequently "blur the line between what a captive witnessed and what she added or invented for the sake of narrative convention or the projected prurience of her audience."[40] Hammon's narrative thus needs to be situated within the field of captivity literature, a field in which the borrowing of tropes and images is widespread, and in which experiences tend to be fitted into common frameworks. Many critics who discuss Hammon acknowl-

edge his position in the history of Indian captivity narratives, as well as his debt to the conversion narrative and spiritual autobiography, but then move quickly to establish his narrative as a forerunner of the slave narrative, even though it is not unequivocally clear that Hammon was a slave. Certainly, his is a singular narrative that laid the groundwork for black participation in print in the North American English colonies. At the same time, it also suggests how the slave narrative might have evolved from both the spiritual autobiography and the captivity narrative, as John Sekora, William L. Andrews, and Rafia Zafar, and others, have discussed.[41] In this chapter, however, I wish to emphasize Hammon's position within the genre of eighteenth-century Anglophone captivity literature, the generic context in which it was likely read and understood at the time of its initial publication. While Hammon's narrative shares certain generic similarities with those of his contemporaries, it also differs markedly in tone.

In many ways, Hammon's narrative explores themes quite typical of eighteenth-century captivity narratives. Although the literature of captivity continually evolved from the seventeenth century through the nineteenth century (and even into the late twentieth century, as Christopher Castiglia has argued),[42] most such publications appearing in the second half of the eighteenth century share certain basic features. Virtually all emphasize the mental suffering brought about by loss of and separation from parents, spouses, and children, as well as the physical hardships of enduring strange food, temperature extremes, and lengthy marches. Although most captivity narratives do not regard Native Americans with outright sympathy—the point being to expose cultures in conflict—only the most blatantly propagandistic versions paint Native Americans as lacking any redeeming qualities.[43] Most narrators record occasional instances of kindness or generosity on the part of their captors, especially with regard to the sharing of limited provisions. In these respects, Hammon's narrative is typical.[44]

In a generic sense, relating any captivity experience in the English language, particularly in 1760, figured Hammon *as* English. Amy Devitt has described genres as a "dynamic response to and construction of [a] recurring situation."[45] Multiple rhetorical responses to similar situations—Christian, English-speaking people held in captivity by non-English-speaking natives of North America—developed into a set of parameters for how those captivity experiences would be understood and how the captors would be perceived. By speaking from within those rhetorical parameters that describe the captivity experience of a Christian, English-speaking person, Hammon laid a prima facie claim for himself *as an Englishman*. Hammon's narrative does not merely

mimic the prevailing conventions of the captivity narrative. Rather, it selects from both contemporary and early incarnations of the genre, appropriating those conventions that work for the purpose of emphasizing his Englishness and Protestantism and rejecting those that would emphasize his bodily differences from his presumed reading audience of white Bostonians.

More striking than his narrative's similarities with its contemporaries are the significant ways in which it diverges in tone from most other contemporaneous examples. Most narratives from the last half of the eighteenth century manifest a tone that might be best described as sensational sensibility, a tone most prevalent among female-authored captivity narratives, but which also appears in male-authored texts. Popular narratives displaying this tone of sensational sensibility include those of Peter Williamson (1757), Frances Scott (1786), and Mary Kinnan (1795). In these texts, sensibility appears as an important marker to distinguish the civilized nature of the white captives from the barbarity of their captors, a barbarity wrought not merely by cultural differences, but also by the Indians' darker skins. Narrating their captivity functions as a cathartic experience that allows these other captives to assert their whiteness, a desideratum especially desirable if the individual had been adopted into the tribe of his or her captors. *A True Narrative of the Sufferings of Mary Kinnan*, for example, melodramatically evokes pathos. The narrative begins by asking readers: "Whilst the tear of sensibility so often flows at the unreal tale of woe, which glows under the pen of the poet and the novelists, shall our heart refuse to be melted with sorrow at the unaffected and unvarnished tale of a female, who has surmounted difficulties and dangers, which on a review appear romantic, even to herself."[46] Kinnan repeatedly emphasizes the effects of captivity on her body, which becomes not merely the site of intense physical suffering, but also the seat of sensibility: her heaving bosom and glistening eyes illustrate her civilized sensibility. In turn, her sensibility is juxtaposed against the savage cruelty of the Indian "squaws," whom she describes as reveling in the torment of their captives. Sensational, overwrought, and intent on demonizing the Indian, Kinnan's narrative typifies a particular strand of the captivity experience. Similar expressions of sensibility in other late eighteenth-century narratives largely supplant the religious sentiments of earlier texts more closely modeled after *A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson* (1682), with this particular form of sensibility reaffirming the white writers' racial difference from their captors and refuting the possibility of the white subject's transculturation.

Hammon's narrative, however, for the most part eschews expressions of

sensibility and the marking of racial difference. Indeed, as several critics have noted, the only real marker of race in Hammon's text appears in the first part of his title, which reads: "Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings, and Surprizing Deliverance of Briton Hammon, A Negro Man." The word "Negro" in the title was probably specified by the printer in order to market the narrative as an exotic curiosity. Unlike the narratives of his contemporaries, which emphasize the body as the site of sensibility, Hammon is textually disembodied, giving his narrative a different sort of valence in the literary marketplace. Rather than *racial* differences, Hammon's narrative instead marks its subject's *cultural* differences from his captors, differences rooted in his participation in literacy, his Christian faith, and his good character, as well as his presumed affinity with his similarly pious white readers. In hearkening back to an earlier, more religiously oriented model, Hammon's captivity narrative creates for its subject an identity marked, but not defined, by race. Rather, English piety defines his identity and lends value to his experiences. This piety granted him narrative legitimacy in a vast transatlantic region in which trade, immigration, and military might were constantly reshaping empires.[47] Instead of fighting for Britain militarily, Hammon engaged this struggle rhetorically through his narrative.

Sailing under "English Colours"

Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings, and Surprizing Deliverance of Briton Hammon, a Negro Man was published in a single edition in Boston in 1760, shortly after Hammon had returned to Massachusetts for the first time in thirteen years. He left Marshfield, Massachusetts, he relates, to go to sea in December 1747 with the permission of General Winslow, his "master." He sailed out of Plymouth, Massachusetts, on a ship bound for Jamaica and the Bay of Honduras, a voyage that would have paid reasonably well due to the risk of running afoul of the Spanish, who had recently been skirmishing with England as part of the War of Jenkins' Ear.[48] In June 1748, after several voyages, the ship struck a reef off the coast of Florida, which at that time was under the control of the Spanish and various Indian tribes. Unwilling to lighten the ship by discarding any of his valuable cargo of logwood, from which was extracted a substance commonly used in dying wools and leather,[49] Captain Howland ordered some of his hands to go ashore in a small boat and establish a camp.[50] During this journey, they saw several canoes, one of which bore an English flag. At first, the sailors were relieved, thinking rescue was at hand, but Indians

used this flag to lull their suspicions. Sixty Indians aboard twenty canoes soon captured their ship and overpowered the men left behind, killing all aboard.[51] When the smaller boat returned to the sloop, they discovered it was in the possession of the Indians and the Mate said, "*my Lads we are all dead Men*." Hammon jumped overboard, "chusing," as he says, "to be drowned, than to be kill'd by those barbarous and inhuman Savages."[52] The Indians eventually captured and bludgeoned Hammon with a cutlass, holding him for five weeks until he escaped from their captivity into a second captivity by the Spanish in Cuba. Most likely Hammon was spared because, as a black man, he could be sold as a slave and was thus valuable in a way his white shipmates were not. However, for reasons not specified, the Indians do not spare the other black crewmember.

Hammon tells us relatively little about his experiences among the Indians. Indeed, my usage here follows his, because he generically labels his first set of captors "Indians," never distinguishing them by tribe. In his narrative, "Indians," "inhuman Savages," "Villains," and "Devils" are interchangeable terms, for "Indian" is a category marked not so much by race and skin color as by the absence of Christian faith, the kinds of threats that they make against their captives, and their alien vocalizations. Hammon tells us that after his capture, he expects "nothing but immediate Death," especially after they tell him "that they intended to roast me alive," a standard trope of the captivity experience.[53]

Missing from Hammon's narrative are the descriptions of skin color so often used in captivity narratives in a derogatory fashion, for example, in a racial epithet such as "tawny devils" to describe Native Americans. In this respect, Hammon's narrative directs us to contemporaneous theories of racial differences, which were in flux in the transatlantic world throughout the eighteenth century. The understanding of race that emerges from his narrative speaks to the monogenist and climatic theories of race prevalent in his day that argued that skin color was a by-product of differing environments, climates, levels of civilization, and cultural development, rather than an originating difference driving others.[54] Hammon's Indians are thus rendered "barbarous" and "inhuman" because of their paganism and their behavior, while the label "Indian" is stripped of specific racial characteristics.

Indeed, the "broken English" and paralinguistic vocalizations of the Indians mark them as both alien and pagan more so than their skin color.[55] In *How Early America Sounded*, Richard Cullen Rath explores how the paralinguistic sounds of Native Americans differed from those of Europeans. Taking up the oft-used trope of the "howling wilderness," Rath argues, "What howled most often in colonists' perceptions of their wilderness were not winds or wolves, but

Indians."[56] Any "loud signaling vocal sound was called a 'hallo,'" Rath explains. "Although from different roots, 'halloing' was often used interchangeably with 'howl' in reference to the sounds First Nations people made."[57] After the Indians overpowered the ship's crew and set fire to the ship, Hammon reports that they made "a prodigious shouting and hallowing like so many Devils."[58] Like so many authors of captivity narratives, Hammon links the alien sounds of the native peoples with paganism, which from a Protestant perspective marks them as devilish or satanic.

Notably, in establishing them as both alien and pagan, Hammon ignores the Indians' skin color. Skin color was not meaningless to Hammon, however. He distinguishes national origin, rank, and color among his fellow sailors, carefully identifying them in the following fashion: "*Reuben Young* of *Cape-Cod*, Mate; *Joseph Little* and *Lemuel Doty* of *Plymouth*," and "*Moses Newmock*, Molatto."[59] Since Hammon notes race only in the case of "*Moses Newmock*, Molatto," we may reasonably assume that the first three sailors are white. In the midst of such geographical and racial designations—highly specific information that could have come only from Hammon—whiteness emerges as normative. Yet in discussing the Indians, Hammon evacuates racial content from his construction of difference for obvious reasons: To mark the Indians as essentially different based on race, rather than culture, would be to expose Hammon's own racial difference from his presumed audience of white English colonials. Instead, Hammon's narrative constructs him as foremost a Christian Englishman who owes his "preservation" and his return to his friends to "the kind Providence of a good GOD."[60] As Ira Berlin notes in *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*, professing Christianity was one means for creolized slaves, as well as for free blacks, to incorporate themselves into the English-speaking community and to demonstrate their belonging to the larger Atlantic world.[61] In this narrative, then, literacy combines with Christianity to erase, or at least minimize, racial difference between Hammon and his readers, as his narrative and its paratextual materials shrewdly negotiate racial issues. The title allows his narrative to be marketed as a curiosity, the story of a black man held captive by the Indians, while the body of the narrative glosses over the element of Hammon's racial difference from his white audience and establishes his speaking authority as based on his faith, language, and English affiliation.

Hammon's escape from the Indians and decade-long stay among the Spanish in Cuba further highlight his identity as a Christian Englishman. After five weeks among the Indians, Hammon was taken to Cuba by the captain of a

Spanish ship, with whom he had a prior acquaintance. Despite the demands of Hammon's Indian captors, the governor of Cuba refused to return him to captivity, paying a ten-dollar ransom for Hammon and providing his accommodations. One might assume that was the end of Hammon's tale, but his narrative gains an added dimension after he was impressed by a Spanish press-gang. Patriotically refusing to serve on a Spanish ship, he was jailed for four years and seven months. Subsequently, a colonial American ship captain aided Hammon, and he once again went to live with the governor, who refused to allow him to leave Havana. Although he was able to negotiate employment for himself, at one point he was ordered to serve the bishop of Cuba by carrying him on his chair throughout the country, as he confirmed church members and baptized children; Hammon scoffs at the "large Sums of Money" the bishop receives for these activities.[62] Although he attempted escape from Havana several times aboard British ships, he was discovered each time.

Not until a fellow Englishman, captain of the *Beaver*, a British man-of-war, acknowledges Hammon's Englishness is he able to escape. When accosted by the Spanish military, the English captain refused to surrender Hammon, claiming that he would never give up another "*Englishman* under *English* Colours."[63] Although Hammon humbly describes himself as "low" in his "capacities and condition," the English visitors to Havana recognize him as one of their own—an Anglo-American Christian in the transatlantic world.[64] This is a curious textual moment, graphically illustrating how the crucible of the Atlantic helped forge national identities, as a white Englishman acknowledges imperial kinship with a black colonial. Language, faith, and culture trump race—at least at this moment in time.

After a number of other voyages, including voluntary service on British naval ships, Hammon coincidentally found himself on the same ship as General John Winslow, the man whom he calls "*my good Master*."[65] Upon seeing Hammon, Winslow exclaimed that he "was like one arose from the Dead," an allusion to the biblical Lazarus that conveys the unlikely—indeed miraculous—nature of Hammon's reappearance after almost thirteen years of silence.[66] After their joyful reunion, both sailed for New England, where Hammon's remarkable story was published, a testament, he explains, to the "Divine Goodness" at work in his own life.[67]

Appended to the end of *Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings, and Surprizing Deliverance* is a paragraph almost certainly written by the printer or an amanuensis, for neither its language nor its syntax sounds anything like that of

the historical narrative of events that Hammon related. In fact, it sounds remarkably like a passage that might have appeared in a Puritan captivity narrative fifty or sixty years earlier:

> *And now, That in the Providence of that GOD, who delivered his Servant* David out of the Paw of the Lion and out of the Paw of the Bear, *I am freed from a* long *and* dreadful Captivity, among worse Savages than they; *And am return'd to my* own Native Land, to Shew how Great Things the Lord hoth (sic) done for Me*; I would call upon all Men, and Say*, O Magnife the Lord with Me, and let us Exalt his Name together!—O that Men would Praise the Lord for His Goodness, and for his Wonderful Works to the Children of Men![68]

The conventional praise of God for his deliverance and the comparison between the captive and a biblical figure both hearken to an earlier era in the captivity genre, while the final lines, which include Hammon among "the Children of Men," erase distinctions among Christian believers.

Hammon's was not the conventional eighteenth-century tale of captivity, encompassing as it does multiple captivities among both the Indians and Spanish, with the added spice of sea adventure. Even though only a small portion of his pamphlet discusses his Indian captivity, the captivity genre provided Hammon with a ready vehicle through which to shape and relate his experiences. By virtue of his juxtaposition against both the unchristian Indians and the despotic, Catholic Spanish empire, Hammon's tale generated for him an individual identity that grants him the efficacy of the Protestant Englishman. This pious identity overshadowed his racial identity and enabled his story to be published in 1760 Boston, a time and place when Anglo-Americans were keenly aware of both their sense of themselves as a Protestant majority and of their affiliation with England, which brought into focus their national antagonism toward the Catholic Church, France, and the French Indian allies in North America. Hammon at this point could still be "English" and yet identify New England as his "native land."[69] This particular historical moment was crucial; after the early 1760s, as the American colonists were taxed heavily to fund Great Britain's participation in the French and Indian War, their sense of affiliation with England began eroding. This erosion would culminate in the emerging American identities that we see claimed by Phillis Wheatley, Deborah Sampson, Clementina Rind, and the mechanic societies and in the decidedly Afro-British identity that Marrant would claim.

Hammon's narrative leaves readers with an indelible impression of his mo-

bility and the sense of displacement that likely both ensued from and brought about this mobility, as he sails among New England, Jamaica, Florida, Cuba, and England. This perpetual wandering likely led to cultural displacement, a sense of never quite belonging to one place or another. If Hammon was an outsider in New England, he was even more of an outsider among the Indians and Spanish. In this context, Hammon's joy at reuniting with General Winslow makes more sense. Being an outsider is relative. After years spent living as a Christian among pagan Indians and then as a black Protestant Englishman among Spanish Catholics, Hammon was returning to his "own Native Land," the place that seemed most like home, regardless of the nature of his servitude.[70] His description of his native land is even more notable, for prior to learning of the ship sailing for Boston, he had agreed to serve on a slaver sailing to Guinea, only to withdraw from service on that ship in preference for the Boston-bound ship. Clearly Africa, whether real or imagined, did not represent a homeland to Hammon.[71]

Although Hammon seems not to have possessed much in the way of material goods, what he did possess was cultural capital via his self-chosen identity as a pious Christian, an eminently portable capital suitable to his peripatetic lifestyle in what was increasingly becoming the evangelical Atlantic. His Protestant English identity, communicated via the popular captivity genre and ratified by his association with General Winslow, opened up a space for him to enter into print culture in the late eighteenth century, when his *Narrative* amplified the cultural mood of a particular moment during the French and Indian War. His juxtaposition against his respective Spanish and Indian captors helps stabilize, for the purposes of the narrative, his English status, while his Christianity functions as a further means of access to an English identity. At the same time, his narrative allowed readers to witness his faith and his profound belief in the workings of Providence in his life.

The very timeliness of Hammon's narrative, however, worked against its cultural longevity. With its publication and circulation limited to one edition in Boston, Hammon's text simply was not widely accessible. While the captivity genre continued to be popular among reading audiences well into the nineteenth century, the political orientation of Hammon's narrative—especially his insistent Englishness—likely would have alienated American readers. As understandings of race hardened, opportunities for people of color to be incorporated into "Children of Men," much less an emerging American identity, lessened.

A Struggle for Identity: The Competing Life Stories of John Marrant

Like Briton Hammon, John Marrant first entered the world of print via the genre of the captivity narrative. As with Hammon, questions of authority and authorship have vexed his literary reputation. Unlike Hammon, however, who participated in the publication of only one work, Marrant published four works and occupied in the matrix of print culture a variety of roles, including collaborator, independent author, recipient of patronage, and society-sponsored author.[72] In addition to the captivity narrative on which he collaborated in some fashion with the Reverend William Aldridge, Marrant also published two sermons and a journal of his experiences ministering to black loyalists, Indians, and whites in Nova Scotia from 1785 to 1789. While Marrant's works were published independently, each enjoyed close association with an organization or evangelical society, prefiguring, in a fashion, the kind of corporate-sponsored authorship discussed in the final chapter of this book. Marrant's struggle for authorial empowerment took place in the larger Atlantic world, as did Wheatley's later poetic endeavors. Like Wheatley, Marrant developed strong ties to the evangelical community in England, especially to the Huntingdon Connexion, an association of evangelical churches. Given the growing movement toward abolition in England, the lower costs associated with printing in London, and the greater receptiveness of the English to the publication of works by black authors, it is not surprising that Marrant published in England three of the four works bearing his name. Only his 1789 sermon to the Freemasons in Boston, written and published at the instigation of Prince Hall, leader of the African Lodge of Freemasons (and possible coauthor of the sermon), was initially published in the United States.

Like Briton Hammon, Marrant lived an unsettled, wandering life, typical of those of many eighteenth-century outsiders, but inflected in particular ways by race. He was born a free man in 1755 and grew up in the British colonies of North America, moving as a child with his family from New York to Florida, Georgia, and then to South Carolina, where he lived in his teens. As he relates in his narrative, after Marrant experienced a dramatic conversion to Christianity during a sermon preached by George Whitefield, he left his family to wander in the backcountry of South Carolina. Found by a Cherokee hunter, he was eventually taken to live among the Cherokee. Sometime after his return to his family near Charleston, as we learn from Marrant's revised fourth

edition of the *Narrative*, the author practiced carpentry with his brother on a plantation about seventy miles outside of the city, where in his free time he ministered to black slaves whose owners violently opposed their religious training. Somewhat later, Marrant was impressed into the British navy during the Revolutionary War. At the end of that war, he made his way to London, and his devoutness eventually found an outlet in the Huntingdon Connexion, in which he became an ordained minister. As part of his ordination by the Connexion at the Bath Chapel on Sunday, 15 May 1785, Marrant orally delivered the conversion narrative that launched his participation in transatlantic print culture.

Marrant's captivity narrative, like his subsequent publications, illustrates the crucial relationships among orality, collaboration, and printed texts in the late eighteenth century. From his oral relation, two different versions of Marrant's life story emerged in print, one in verse, the other in prose, but both were published under others' names. Both works claimed the authority to represent Marrant's life and define the parameters of his faith, well before he himself was able to claim his own identity in print several months later in a revised, expanded, and authorized edition of the *Narrative*. These unique circumstances allow us to interrogate the boundaries of collaboration in the context of Marrant's struggle to gain control of his print identity.

Both the Reverend William Aldridge, a Methodist minister who had close ties to the Huntingdon Connexion, and the English poet Samuel Whitchurch were in the audience when Marrant delivered his dramatic conversion narrative, and each rushed into print a version of this narrative.[73] Aldridge's prose version puts Marrant's experiences among the Cherokee at the heart of the text; not surprising, Aldridge's rendition of these experiences draws upon the conventions of the captivity genre. By contrast, Whitchurch's adaptation of the oral narrative appeared as *The Negro Convert*, a long narrative poem. Whitchurch frankly owns that he "select[ed] the most striking parts of Mr. Marrant's relation, and . . . compos'd a poem."[74] Marrant was less a collaborator than a source of inspiration. This latter work has somewhat differing authorial intentions and consequently emphasizes different experiences. Both texts, however, establish their object as an oddity—the black Christian—and both illustrate the potential loss of agency inherent in as-told-to stories. Not until the revised and expanded fourth edition of the *Narrative* (published later in 1785) did Marrant begin to gain control over his public identity. Given the vexed nature of the collaborative texts describing Marrant's experiences, we should understand the fourth edition of his *Narrative* and his subsequent print publications as his struggle to control his literary and public identity.

Marrant sought to support himself through his authorized *Narrative*, to differentiate himself theologically within evangelical circles, and to assert the spiritual potential of people of color.

John Marrant: A Life in Poetry as *The Negro Convert*

It is unclear whether Whitchurch's poem or Aldridge's prose narrative was printed first. We know Marrant delivered the oral version of his narrative in Bath on 15 May 1785 at the time of his ordination. Aldridge's preface to the first edition, published in London, is dated 19 July 1785. Whitchurch's poem contains no internal dating, but its publication in Bath suggests a certain timeliness, so the poem may very well have preceded the prose narrative by a few weeks. *The Negro Convert* is sometimes noted in passing by scholars writing about Marrant, but close examination of the poem suggests reasons why Marrant might have been moved to assert his own print identity. Whitchurch's poem insistently links blackness with sin in a way that Marrant undoubtedly found offensive and theologically suspect.

While *The Negro Convert* originated from the same event—Marrant's oral narration of his conversion experiences—the poem was written independently of the *Narrative* and develops its own theological agenda. In the preface to *The Negro Convert*, Whitchurch tells us that he was in the audience that heard Marrant's narrative of his conversion and captivity, and he claims to have "taken down in short-hand his experience." Whitchurch explains that he composed his poem by choosing those events that seemed most "remarkable." For Whitchurch, "the most striking parts" concerned Marrant's dramatic saving experience. Consequently, he sought to create an ecumenical, evangelical poem celebrating the joys of Christian conversion. While Whitchurch's poem agrees with the essentials of the conversion process as related in the first edition of the Marrant-Aldridge narrative, even using similar phrases to describe certain experiences and emotions, it contains additional details not included in the first edition. For example, where the Marrant-Aldridge first edition of the *Narrative* merely notes that George Whitefield sent a minister to see the stricken Marrant, *The Negro Convert* specifies that it was a "Baptist preacher," while a footnote to the text identifies the minister as "Mr. Hall, a Baptist Minister at Charlestown, who at Mr. Whitefield's request, waited upon Mr. Marrant."[75] Such internal evidence indicates that *The Negro Convert* was written without the help of the *Narrative*.[76] Further, it lends credence to Aldridge's claim in

the preface: "I have always preserved Mr. Marrant's ideas, tho' I could not his language; no more alterations, however, have been made, than were thought necessary." Given the close relationships cultivated among the Huntingdon Connexion, Marrant must have been familiar with the poem, but none of his published writings indicates any further degree of collaboration on *The Negro Convert*. His opinion of the poem and its construction of blackness remain a mystery.

It is fair to say, though, that Marrant might well have taken issue with Whitchurch's close association of blackness and sin. Race—blackness in particular—is central to *The Negro Convert*. In part, this emphasis on race results from the nature of the patronage relationship that Marrant established with Selina, the Countess of Huntingdon and patroness of the Huntingdon Connexion. The Connexion ordained Marrant and sent him to Nova Scotia specifically to minister to the native population and the black loyalists who had immigrated there after the American Revolution. Thus Whitchurch's poetic retelling of Marrant's experience is dedicated to and pays homage to the Countess, whom he describes as a "fam'd Patroness of saints below" for her support of such evangelism. Whitchurch styles the Countess "the nursing mother" of the Christian church and writes:

> To great *Selina* I would homage pay;
> To you, blest ornament of Heav'nly grace!
> Whose bounteous deeds are known in every place;[77]

Given Marrant's particular charge, it is not surprising that Whitchurch would mention race, but Whitchurch consistently marks race only in the case of blacks or Indians. Hence, what emerges from *The Negro Convert* is a sense that whiteness is normative. For example, in describing Marrant's planned trip to Nova Scotia, Whitchurch writes:

> Where with commission sent, the sable youth
> Shall to Barbarians preach the Word of Truth,
> . . . . . .
> The joyful news, shall happy Negroes hear.

Whitchurch similarly emphasizes Marrant's racial difference when he pronounces:

> Thus shall the *Negro Convert* publish still
> To fellow blacks, the great Jehovah's will.[78]

Marrant's blackness is defining and inescapable; he may be a Christian, but he is first and always a sable/Negro/black.

What must have been more galling to Marrant is how Whitchurch appropriates Marrant's voice and interpolates his own racial sensibilities into the second part of the poem. Although it is written in first person as if spoken by Marrant, he has no real subjectivity. He remains a category, a placeholder for the responsibility of evangelicals to Christianize the pagan, rather than an individual: "His soul's experiences thus the *Black* exprest—" (emphasis in original).[79] In the foregoing passage, Marrant lacks even a name. He is defined solely by his race.

In the rest of the poem, blackness become less a marker to distinguish skin color and more a denotation of sin. Whitchurch has Marrant speak of his "crimes . . . too black to be forgiv'n" and his "black despair."[80] Miraculously, however, after Marrant had lain prostrated with sin, prayer made his "[C]hristian burden tumble to the ground!"[81] Setting aside the music that had once given him such joy—and led to sinful behavior—Marrant explains:

> Now to my home, my friends, I bend my way,
> But they deride me, and deny my stay;
> They know not *Christ*—their hearts with malice burn,
> And me a wand'rer out of doors they turn.[82]

Whitchurch's narrative differs at this point from the Marrant-Aldridge versions, which depict Marrant leaving of his own accord. Whitchurch imagines his subject condemned to wander in a Joseph-like fashion,[83] sustained only by his faith.

Whitchurch glosses over Marrant's stay among the Cherokee, who are simply agents of God. In the midst of the wilderness, while "hungry monsters vent their rage around,"

> Yet still the Lord was pleas'd to be my guide,
> He knew my wants, and every want supply'd.
> . . . . . .
> By his Almighty Arm sustain'd I stood
> Unhurt amidst the dangers of the wood;[84]

Whitchurch's goal is to support the evangelical mission of the Huntingdon Connexion. Marrant's personal experiences during his captivity are less important to Whitchurch than God's action in preserving him through these experiences: Marrant is simply an object for God's saving grace. His survival in

the wilderness functions as a type for his upcoming evangelical venture to the wilds of Nova Scotia.

Whitchurch's account also diverges from the various prose editions of the *Narrative* in an episode that describes Marrant as hearing a voice urging, "'Go forth! go forth!'"[85] and has Marrant writing his relatives to initiate his Nova Scotian ministry. The *Narrative* simply explains that Marrant felt a "call to the ministry," and that a letter from his brother told him he had "prayed some ministers would come and preach to them."[86] Whitchurch's emphasis makes sense; he is highlighting not only God's saving grace, but also His call to action in Marrant's life.

Whitchurch concludes his poem by having Marrant directly address his audience in the following meek fashion:

> And now my friends, let me beseech you pray,
> That God will guide me o'er the watry way!
> O! pray, that I may in the lowly sphere
> Of meek humility continual steer,
> O! pray that distant Negroes soon may know,
> How pure the fountains of salvation flow!
> That they may for a Savior's ransom sue,
> Whose cleansing blood can make them white as you.[87]

As one might expect, Whitchurch has Marrant seek the prayerful support of his auditors for his mission. Lest Marrant become overconfident, Whitchurch also has them pray that Marrant will be lowly, meek, and humble. Certainly, humility was appropriate for a servant of God, but that humility reads in a slightly different light when coupled with the final line of the stanza. As the sacrificial lamb, Jesus redeems the regenerate when his blood washes away their sins. Whitchurch may also be referencing Isaiah 1:18: "Though your sins are scarlet, they may become white as snow; though they are dyed crimson, they may yet be like wool."[88] Both passages speak to the transformative power of faith. Yet the final phrase—"white as you"—carries multiple valences. On one level, it refers to Marrant's Christian auditors in the Bath Chapel, with whiteness associated with their salvation and blackness associated with sin. Whitchurch's phrase "white as you" also resonates on a racial level, for undoubtedly most of Marrant's listeners that day in the Bath Chapel were white. In this sense, Whitchurch has Marrant express the inferiority of blackness, as if black skin imposes an additional sin, an additional handicap to be overcome on the way to salvation. Evidently, Marrant said *something* about blackness and

whiteness in connection with salvation, for the Marrant-Aldridge prose narrative similarly concludes with Marrant's expressed desire "that the black nations may be made white in the blood of the Lamb." Marrant let that passage stand in his authorized fourth edition. The Marrant-Aldridge phrasing suggests the desire for purity and even equality, while the Whitchurch poem on the one hand urges salvation for people of color, yet suggests the physical impossibility for blacks of crossing that racial gulf, the impossibility that they might ever be as "white as you." We might consider that Phillis Wheatley similarly struggled with the relationship between blackness and sin. She concluded:

> Remember, *Christians, Negros*, black as *Cain*,
> May be refin'd, and join th' angelic train.[89]

A central struggle for eighteenth-century Christian writers of color was to demonstrate their spiritual equality amidst religious rhetoric that had long associated sin with the color black.

Marrant's desire to represent himself in print was undoubtedly sparked by Whitchurch's appropriation of his life story and his voice, as Whitchurch rewrote Marrant's story to suit his theological and ideological goals. While Whitchurch's poem alone might not have been enough to provoke Marrant into seeking control over his own printed identity (as well as any profits to be made from it), the combined appearance of the Whitchurch and Aldridge works drove Marrant to enter into print under his own name. As a black evangelist, Marrant needed to assert the spiritual equality of all races. Individual behavior, he would argue, not race, wrought sin. The worst sinners of his narrative are white in color.

John Marrant: A Life in Prose in *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings*

While Marrant seems to have played no role in the composition and publication of *The Negro Convert*, other than orally "publishing" his experiences with the audience present for his ordination sermon, it is less clear what role he played in the publication of the prose narrative about his life. We know that Marrant could read and write well; his narrative mentions that he attended school from age five to eleven, and he talks about reading his Bible and one of Isaac Watts's hymnbooks as a teenaged convert. [90] Further, we know his older sister and mother were literate, because Marrant repeatedly mentions

their reading and writing letters concerning his various apprenticeships.[91] His youngest sister also attended school. When Marrant first saw her after his wilderness sojourn, he explains that she "came in from school, *with a book under her arm*" (emphasis added).[92] The italicized phrase is one Marrant added to the revised edition of his *Narrative*. Here, he emphasizes his familial history of literacy, which was simply remarkable for an African American family residing in the South around 1760, the same year in which Briton Hammon published his narrative. The Marrant family literacy makes Phillis Wheatley's literacy seem less unusual.

Despite Marrant's literacy, the first edition of his prose narrative was an as-told-to story—that is, a text emerging from a collaborative mode that involves a storyteller and an amanuensis. The title page of the 1785 first edition of *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, a Black (Now going to Preach the Gospel in Nova-Scotia*) describes it as "taken down from his own Relation, Arranged, Corrected, and Published By the Rev. Mr. ALDRIDGE." Aldridge's preface further explains: "I have always preserved Mr. Marrant's ideas, tho' I could not his language; no more alterations, however, have been made, than were thought necessary."[93]

While this collaborative model was common among Indian captivity narratives, Marrant's individual degree of collaboration in and consent to the first edition are mediated by the fact that the expanded fourth edition of the *Narrative*, published later in the same year, describes itself as: "The Fourth Edition, Enlarged by Mr. MARRANT, and Printed (with Permission) for his Sole Benefit, WITH NOTES EXPLANATORY." Scholars cite this fourth edition most frequently, both because the title page suggests that it is the most authoritative text, and because this particular edition contains an important episode of racial conflict left out of the three earlier editions of the Marrant-Aldridge version. The fourth edition acknowledges race, but piety or the absence of piety, not race, defines subjects' identities. This piety grants the author narrative legitimacy as an Englishman and a devout sojourner in the North American wilderness. Although Marrant himself was born free, he invokes the language of chattel slavery to explore the nature of sin. Christian faith liberates believers from the bonds of sin and likewise is capable of uniting individuals of different races in Christian fellowship. At the same time, Marrant uses Christianity to scourge slave owners who would deny their slaves this spiritual communion.

Although only one edition of Briton Hammon's captivity narrative appeared prior to the twentieth century, John Marrant's tale was extraordinarily popular, appearing in at least 44 printings (some of which are multiple print-

ings of the same edition) between 1785 and 1850, including editions in England (London, Leeds, Manchester, and Brighton), Ireland (Dublin and Cork), Wales (Carmarthen), Nova Scotia (Halifax), and the United States (Middleton, Connecticut).[94] First published in London, the center of the evangelical empire, Marrant's narrative was guaranteed a broad circulation simply by virtue of its metropolitan publication. However, the author's collaboration with William Aldridge, a popular Methodist clergyman closely linked to the Countess of Huntingdon, gave him a built-in audience through the Huntingdon Connexion. Christian consumption, the desire to engage with texts that showed God's providential plan at work, drove subsequent sales of Marrant's *Narrative*. The other sites of publication illustrate the way in which the evangelical empire overlaid the eighteenth-century British political empire. Noticeable by their absence are reprintings in slavery strongholds such as the island colonies or the American South. Even though Marrant was not a slave, his call for spiritual equality and his exposé of the brutality of southern planters made publication of his text untenable in areas economically dependent on slave labor.

Beyond publishing locale and the religious network, however, Marrant's text itself appealed to audiences in three important ways. First, it includes considerable information about his experiences as a captive among the Cherokee, which likely would have appealed to readers of other captivity narratives. Moreover, the fourth edition (and subsequent editions based on it) provides insight into black-white relationships in the southern colonies, particularly important given the early abolition work on going in Britain at that time. Finally, whereas Hammon's text operates under the prima facie claim of his faith, Marrant's text powerfully details his conversion experience. His own marveling at the workings of God's providence in each of these arenas would have made his narrative enormously engaging for an evangelical audience. These multiple uses to which Marrant's narrative could be put by readers likely increased its popularity.

Marrant and Hammon deal with race very differently, undoubtedly because of the different sociocultural environments of their respective publishing eras. While Hammon's narrative alternatively capitalizes on his status as a black man (in the title) and then minimizes his race (in the body of the narrative), Marrant's *Narrative* more consistently invokes race and images of slavery, using the powerful language of chattel slavery to depict his early relationship to sin. The first part describes his early life and conversion experience. Marrant grew up with no particular religious calling. Apprenticed to a music master by his own request, he soon learned to play the violin and the French horn. By age thirteen, his skill enabled him to support himself by playing at balls and dances.

His freedom and economic success lead to his moral downfall, making him a "slave" to sin. He describes himself as "devoted to pleasure and drinking in iniquity like water; a slave to every vice suited to my nature and to my years."[95]

Similar to the description found in *The Negro Convert*, Marrant's conversion to evangelical Christianity is sudden and dramatic. Dared by a mischief-making friend, he prepares to blow the French horn in order to disrupt a church service led by George Whitefield, the British evangelist and future chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon. Instead, Marrant describes himself as struck to the ground, where he "lay both speechless and senseless near half an hour." Whitefield's words, "PREPARE TO MEET THY GOD, O ISRAEL," seem to have been spoken directly to Marrant. Later Whitefield tells him that "JESUS CHRIST HAS GOT THEE AT LAST."[96] Unable to walk, Marrant was carried to his sister's house, where he lay in distress for three days, drinking only a little water. Only after a minister, directed to do so by Whitefield, visits him does he begin to recover, and only then after three sessions of prayer—prayer that, according to Marrant, "set my soul at perfect liberty," freeing him from slavery to sin.[97] The author deliberately invokes the language of slavery, recognizing its familiarity to his readers. Chattel slavery might constrain the body, but sin damns one to eternal slavery; conversely, prayer and piety free his soul for eternal liberty.

The fashion in which Marrant depicts his conversion, as both sudden and dramatic, speaks to the style of ministry that became popular during the Great Awakening. Earlier in the century, Christianity and worship experiences in the South had been decidedly less appealing to African Americans. Prior to the mid-eighteenth century, a hierarchical form of Anglicanism dominated in the southern colonies that Sylvia Frey and Betty Wood describe as offering to people of African descent "no convincing, or compelling, reasons to abandon their traditional beliefs and rituals in favor of those espoused by the colonial clergy."[98] Antipathy to traditional Anglicanism may explain the Marrant family's initial hostility to his conversion. By contrast, Whitefield and his fellow evangelicals brought with them "the promise of the millennium and spiritual regeneration," while Whitefield himself recognized "the natural intellectual equality of Africans."[99] Marrant was, then, the spiritual equivalent of the early adopter, one who introduces a concept, in this case Christianity, to a broader audience while also taking on the responsibility of pointing out the flaws of nominal Christians.

Liberty from sin turns out to be a more complicated endeavor than Marrant anticipates. The ridicule that his friends and family members heap upon

his evangelical faith doubles his captivity, as he endures a Babylonian-style captivity. Although in the presence of his family, Marrant regards himself as an outsider persecuted by a community of nonbelievers. His mother, brother, sisters, and neighbors, he tells us, "called me every name but that which was good. The more they persecuted me, the stronger I grew in grace." After finding they had all turned against him, Marrant "thought it better for me to die than to live among such people."[100] He left his family at the age of fourteen to wander in the South Carolina wilderness, armed only with a Bible and one of Isaac Watts's hymnbooks.

Marrant spends considerable time detailing the physical travails of his journey, which enables him to reenact typologically the wilderness sojourns of John the Baptist and Jesus. This typological necessity, rather than actual fidelity of experience, shapes the improbable details he shares. The presence of wolves and bears drives him to sleep in trees, and he has only the word of God and "deer-grass" to nourish him and water muddied by wild pigs to drink.[101] Marrant explains that he remains unscathed during his wandering, offering "God thanks for my escape, who had tamed the wild beasts of the forest, and made them friendly to me."[102] When a Cherokee hunter known to his family finds him fifty-five miles into the wilderness, Marrant weeps, fearing neither captivity nor death, but rather the threat of being taken home to his family and once again falling captive to sin. The hunter refuses to leave his young companion to wander alone, so Marrant agrees to hunt with him for several months. Only after the end of hunting season, when the Indian hunter takes Marrant to a large Cherokee town, is he taken into physical captivity and thereafter ordered put to death for trespassing on Cherokee lands.

Rather than being frightened by the prospect of death, Marrant welcomes it, for he sees it as an end to his bodily and spiritual testing and as the beginning of his true union with Christ. He is willing to embrace martyrdom for his faith. The author's praying and constant references to Jesus perplex his Cherokee captors, for they cannot conceive why he speaks to someone he insists is present but whom they themselves cannot see. According to Marrant, his passionate prayers, which at one point he feels divinely inspired to deliver in the Cherokee language, bring about the conversion of his would-be executioner, who refuses to put him to death until he has met with the Cherokee chief. The executioner's motives probably were not those Marrant ascribed to him,[103] but the purpose of the narrative is not ethnographic accuracy. Rather, the narrative highlights Marrant's ability as an evangelist. His xenoglossia, his ability to pray in a language previously unknown to him, hearkens to Mark 16,

where the arisen Christ commands the apostles: "Go forth to every part of the world, and proclaim the Good News to the whole creation. Those who believe it and receive baptism will find salvation; those who do not believe will be condemned. Faith will bring with it these miracles: believers will cast out devils in my name and speak in strange tongues; if they handle snakes or any deadly poison, they will come to no harm; and the sick on whom they lay their hands will recover."[104] In speaking to the Cherokee in their own tongue, Marrant figures himself as enacting the duties of the apostles.

Marrant's subsequent interactions with the chief and his daughter highlight his cultural differences from the Indians and allow him to emphasize to his white readers the strength of his Christian conviction. Upon meeting with the sachem and his daughter, Marrant sees that the daughter is powerfully moved by his faith, repeatedly taking up his Bible and kissing it. She explains, however, "with much sorrow, [that] the book would not speak to her."[105] The Bible in this episode functions both as a symbol of cultural power—the power of the English Protestant God, whom only Marrant has the skill to interpret—as well as a sign of colonial difference between the captive and his captors.[106] This colonial difference and the power inherent in it matter far more than racial difference in this portion of Marrant's narrative. Subsequently, Marrant claims, his prayers awaken the chief's daughter to a sense of her sin, inducing a physical collapse. Threatened with imminent death if he could not make her well again, he explains: "I was not afraid, but the Lord tried my faith sharply."[107] Like the Puritan captive Mary Rowlandson, Marrant interprets his survival as a test of his faith. Only after his prayers bring about the rejuvenation and spiritual conversion of the chief's daughter—hearkening back once again to Mark 16—is Marrant's life spared and is he free to proselytize among the Cherokee and neighboring tribes. Here, we see a marked difference between Hammon's and Marrant's narratives. While Hammon was content to keep his faith to himself, as a soon-to-be evangelist in Nova Scotia, Marrant emphasizes that he has *already* been successful in sharing his piety.

Throughout his witnessing among the Cherokee, Marrant continues to use the language of captivity and slavery to describe the state of the sinner. Conversion to Christian faith "set[s] at liberty"[108] even those who do not recognize their own enthrallment. The newfound spiritual liberty of the chief and his daughter brings about the physical liberty of Marrant from Indian captivity. Marrant never attributes the conversion of the Cherokee to his own actions. Rather, as he carefully points out, it is God, working through him, who con-

verts the Cherokee, just as it is God, working through the Cherokee, who saves Marrant.

One of the most interesting aspects of *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant* is the author's willingness to acculturate to the Cherokee way of life, a process that signals the freedom that he finds in captivity. The typical eighteenth-century captivity narrative emphasizes its white subject's resistance to acculturation: the captive eats Indian food only when faced with starvation and adopts Indian dress only when his or her own clothes are no longer wearable. Further, most captives remain focused on the ultimate goal of redemption to white society. Marrant, not white and alienated from his unconverted family, has no such longings for earthly redemption. Indeed, he is already *redeemed* in the sense of the word that matters most, for he is sure not only of his own salvation but also that of some of his Cherokee captors. After being freed by the Cherokee sachem, Marrant chooses to live among them for several months, learning, he claims, their language "in the highest stile" and adopting "the habit of the country."[109] The author later describes his dress in this manner: "My dress was purely in the Indian stile; the skins of wild beasts composed my garments; my head was set out in the savage manner, with a long pendant down my back, a sash round my middle, without breeches, and a tomohawk by my side."[110] He lives contentedly among the Cherokee because he sees them not as racial others, but rather as a community of potential converts. As Michelle Burnham explains: "Marrant's narrative never demonizes the Indians; in fact, the Cherokees' conversion unites them with their captive-turned-minister in a Christian community where violence becomes unthinkable and utterly obviates even the imagination of escape."[111]

When Marrant feels moved to return to his family and country after being absent for nearly two years, his friends and family (with the exception of his youngest sister) fail to recognize him.[112] His dramatic spiritual and physical testing altered his outward appearance and his self-conception. While he claims to have greatly affected the Cherokee among whom he lived, they also powerfully affected him, for crossing "over the fence," the image he creates for us of the dividing line between civilization and wilderness, enables him to explore the power of his faith.[113] He can truly speak of himself as being reborn when he returns to his family, for his spiritual rebirth has enabled him to effect conversions among those he meets.[114] While Marrant relies on biblical typology to reinforce his readers' understanding of his spiritual rebirth, his use of the New Testament language of resurrection differentiates his text from a work

such as Mary Rowlandson's, as Benilde Montgomery notes, a difference that reflects Marrant's historical position in eighteenth-century evangelical culture.[115] Only after his youngest sister recognizes him does he confess his identity to his grieving family, which has long assumed him dead. Marrant concludes: "Thus the dead was brought to life again; thus the lost was found."[116] While he is here alluding to Lazarus and the parables of the lost sheep and the prodigal son, he himself was only truly lost when he lived among his family of sinners. By leaving them, he found himself and gained the spiritual confidence to withstand their disbelief. In the liminal space of the wilderness, he redefined himself, not as an African or black man, which is how his fellow English colonists and Samuel Whitchurch understood him, but rather first and foremost as a Christian Englishman. Race, while not incidental, for the rhetorical purposes of *A Narrative* assumes tertiary importance to his Christianity and Englishness.

Orienting his conversion experience around his captivity allows Marrant to reverse the usual paradigm of savage and civilized and to critique white religious hypocrisy, just as Briton Hammon had used his captivity in Cuba to criticize Spanish despotism. Although Marrant initially found his Native American captors to be cruel and feared the torture they threatened, his narrative demonstrates no sense of racial difference between himself and the Cherokee. Once converted, they become his brothers and sisters in Christ. True Christianity, according to his narrative, supersedes race, rendering it unimportant. As Michael K. Johnson remarked: "Marrant inverts the central trope of frontier mythology. In the savage wilderness he discovers the essential humanity of the heathen Indians."[117]

Only after he returns to civilization does Marrant witness true savagery, and only then in the context of a sojourn on a southern slaveholding plantation. This incident does not appear in print until the revised fourth edition of the *Narrative*, published by R. Hawes, and it dramatically reorients the *Narrative*. While working with his brother as free carpenters on a plantation seventy miles from Charleston, Marrant began teaching the slaves to pray, an act that outraged their mistress. When she confronts several of the slave children, asking them who taught them the Lord's Prayer, they tell her, "the free Carpenter"—a reference that reminds us of Jesus's own humble work. Marrant's teaching of the slaves prompts their owners to beat them, for they fear having their "negroes ruin'd." A plantation owner tells the evangelist that he feared the slaves would become "so wise that he should not be able to keep them in subjection."[118] Marrant describes the scene this way: "men, women, and children were strip'd naked and tied, their feet to a stake, their hands to the arm of a tree, and

so severely flogg'd that the blood ran from their backs and sides to the floor."[119] Although the Cherokee had threatened physical harm, they never actually hurt him. Compare their threatened violence with the cruel punishment meted out by the supposedly civilized plantation owners. By virtue of this episode, we see that it is the absence of true faith that enables savagery. Although one slave owner eventually becomes more amenable to allowing his slaves to worship, even attending their services at times, the author represents the Indians not only as less savage than the white slave owners, but indeed as more naturally susceptible to the word of God.

Evidence from Whitchurch's poem *The Negro Convert* suggests that Marrant related this controversial episode at his ordination ceremony at the Bath Chapel. Whitchurch, however, condenses this episode to only four somewhat elliptical lines in his poem:

> Freed from the wilderness, at length I came
> To men who bore the injur'd [C]hristian name;
> Christians by name—for savage beasts of prey
> I found more kind, more merciful than they.—[120]

The "savage beasts of prey" found by the "Negro Convert" were neither wild beasts, nor savage Indians, but rather the savage white slave owners whom Marrant himself describes in the fourth edition of the *Narrative*.

The "addition," then, of the plantation ministry episode to the fourth edition of Marrant's *Narrative* is less an addition than a crucial emendation, a correction to his story as Aldridge had represented it.[121] The original imagined audience for his captivity narrative was the white evangelical Christian cohort of metropolitan London. The racial consciousness that emerges from this text was strongly shaped by Aldridge, who confesses that he "corrected" Marrant's oral narrative. The preface elaborates on Aldridge's role, when he explains, "*no more alterations, however, have been made, than were thought necessary*."[122] Aldridge likely "*thought [it] necessary*" to leave this episode out of the early editions of the *Narrative* to avoid offending slave owners who supported the Huntingdon Connexion, among them the Countess herself, who had inherited properties in the colonies that included slave laborers. By expanding his version of the *Narrative* to include this essential episode, Marrant exposes the racism of some white Christians, while also establishing his authorial independence from Aldridge and staking his theological position within Huntingdon Connexion. These doubled narrative interventions present Marrant as a more sophisticated and assertive participant in print culture than Hammon, and they make it clear

why Henry Louis Gates Jr. credited Marrant with "inaugurat[ing] the black tradition of English literature."[123]

Both the first and the fourth editions of Marrant's narrative conclude with a short relation of his life as an impressed sailor in the Royal Navy, the interlude that eventually took him to London, where his ministry was set into motion. Preparing to return to North America to preach as an ordained minister, Marrant offers a prayer for his continued success as an evangelist:

> I have now only to intreat the earnest prayers of all my kind Christian friends, that I may be carried safe there; kept humble, made faithful, and successful; that strangers may hear of and run to Christ; that Indian tribes may stretch out their hands to God; that the black nations may be made white in the blood of the Lamb; that vast multitudes of hard tongues, and of a strange speech, may learn the language of Canaan, and sing the song of Moses, and of the Lamb; and anticipating the glorious prospect, may we all with servent hearts, and willing tongues, sing Hallelujah; the kingdoms of the world are become the kingdoms of our God, and of his Christ. Amen, and Amen.[124]

Marrant's prayer calls to mind not merely a racially tolerant world, but a world where Christianity will render race a null category. His invocation of "servent hearts" reminds readers that Christ made no distinction on the basis of earthly status or wealth, calling all to take up the cross in spiritual equality.

Peripatetic Redux

If John Marrant's captivity narrative conveys a sense of his displacement, his subsequent publications enhance our understanding of him as a wanderer. After the publication of his *Narrative* in London, Marrant traveled among Nova Scotia, Boston, and London during the years from 1785 through 1791, when he died in London. For Marrant, as for Hammon, and perhaps for the eighteenth-century black Christian at large, there truly was no "continuing city." Marrant invoked this trope at the beginning of his narrative, quoting from Hebrews 13:14: "For here we have no permanent home, but we are seekers after the city which is to come."[125] As an outsider in early America, Marrant was positioned to understand this verse, which emphasizes the temporary nature of earthly existence. By contrast, Marrant saw many of his contemporaries lulled into spiritual complacency by the comfort of their situations, focusing too much of their attention on earthly affairs rather than the afterlife. Unable to find a sat-

isfying, restful earthly home, Briton Hammon and John Marrant struggled to define themselves in an emerging racial context that linked blackness to sin and servitude. For each man, representations of piety, in combination with literacy, authorship, and Englishness, led to symbolic capital and a portable identity. The popular captivity narrative genre, coupled with inexpensive pamphlet publication, guaranteed each a broad audience, particularly Marrant, whose work was first published in London.

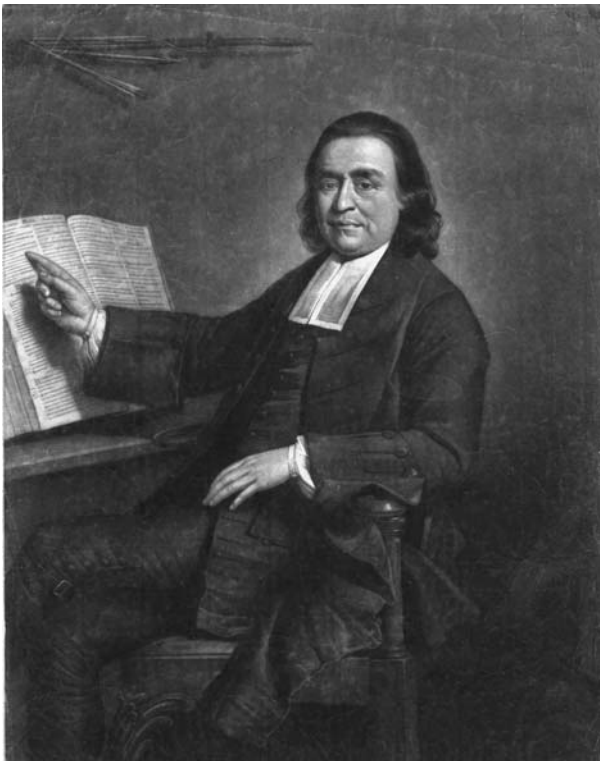
Although Hammon's life remains a blank after the publication of his narrative—did the identity he claimed for himself as a literate Christian Englishman empower him?—for Marrant, the publication of his narrative did matter: his narrative directly enabled his missionary work, and he finally profited from his own story and became an independent author. Marrant authored three additional texts during his final travels: *A Sermon Preached on the 24th Day of June 1789, Being the Festival of St. John the Baptist, at the Request of the Right Worshipful the Grand Master Prince Hall, and the Rest of the Brethren of the African Lodge of the Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons in Boston* (1790); *A Journal of the Rev. John Marrant, from August the 18th, 1785, to the 16th of March, 1790* (1790), which was published along with *A Funeral Sermon Preached by the Desire of the Deceased, John Lock* (1790). The contexts for these works reveal his attempts at connection; his *Journal* and his *Funeral Sermon* were based on his experiences with the black loyalist community in Nova Scotia after the Revolution, and his sermon to the African Lodge arose out of his experiences with the black community in Boston. While his Masonic sermon was published in Boston expressly for that community, his *Journal* and *Funeral Sermon* were published in London after his return to that city and participated in the larger discourses of evangelism, particularly that associated with the Huntingdon Connexion. In both cases, Marrant's authorship was sponsored by those organizations, although in a less formalized sense than the mechanic society addresses discussed in chapter 6. While Marrant's travels emphasize his outsider status, they also map the contours of a powerful evangelical empire that had come to overlap the disintegrating British Empire in the North Atlantic. Within decades, evangelical networks would become more narrow in their appeal but more radical in their agenda, helping bring an end to slavery in the empire and then turning their attention to American slavery. Marrant's text, in inexpensive pamphlet format and an appealing genre, was a powerful tool for early evangelicals in the struggle for spiritual equality for African Americans and Native Americans.

Chapter 3

"Common, Plain, Every Day Talk" from "An Uncommon Quarter"

Samson Occom and the Language of the Execution Sermon

"What folly and madness is it in me," Samson Occom asks, "to suffer any thing of mine to appear in print, to expose my ignorance to the world?" Occom was neither a fool nor ignorant. Instead, in the preface to his best-selling 1772 *A Sermon, Preached at the Execution of Moses Paul, An Indian*, he models the humility typical of eighteenth-century prefaces, especially those written by outsiders.[1] Like Phillis Wheatley and John Marrant, the Mohegan minister Samson Occom occupied a crucial physical and racial space in the evangelical empire, as his ministry engaged northeastern Christians while keeping the needs of outsiders, especially Native Americans, at the forefront of his mission. Similar to Wheatley and Marrant, Occom and his texts traveled throughout the North Atlantic, from the American colonies to Great Britain and back. And, like Wheatley and Marrant, his physical person, his oral performances, and his written texts combined to create amazingly rich literacy events, especially in Great Britain where he traveled from 1765 to 1768 to raise funds for an Indian charity school. There, he delivered dozens of sermons, solicited donations, and was feted as the first Native American minister to visit that country, with his image reproduced as a popular mezzotint. Consequently, Occom developed a public presence and had a long writing history before he arranged for the pamphlet publication of the work for which he was most famous in his lifetime, *A Sermon, Preached at the Execution of Moses Paul, An Indian*. These literacy events render Occom's situation rather different from those of Wheatley, Marrant, or Briton Hammon, all of whom first emerged in public life via their published works. And yet Occom's *A Sermon* captivated the popular imagination much as did Phillis Wheatley's elegy for George Whitefield, leading to



Mezzotint of Samson Occom titled *The Reverend Mr. Samson Occom: The First Indian Minister That Ever Was in Europe* (London: H. Parker, 1768). Courtesy of Dartmouth College Library.

nineteen editions published between 1772 and 1827 in the colonies, the early United States, and Great Britain, and giving Occom a material presence that equaled the range of his itinerant preaching and extended beyond his lifetime.[2] The transmission of Occom's sermon from Connecticut to Britain, like the circulation of Wheatley's elegy for Whitefield from Massachusetts to Britain, illustrates that the textual manifestations of the evangelical empire flowed in both directions across the Atlantic.

Occom was an energetic writer, and he left behind journals, petitions and tribal documents, sermon notes, hymns, many letters, and two drafts of an autobiographical narrative.[3] With the exception of *A Sermon* and *A Choice Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (1774), these other works were not published during his lifetime, a fact which reminds us that one does not need to be published to be a writer engaged broadly with a culture. While holding that principle

firmly—that publication was not necessarily the sine qua non of eighteenth-century authorship—we nonetheless must acknowledge the way in which Occom's historical presence has been distorted in contemporary literary studies. Occom, like Wheatley, frequently is a placeholder on American literature syllabi—an Indian who finally speaks for himself in print.[4] Ironically, the text for which he is best known, his 1768 autobiographical narrative, reprinted in modern anthologies as "A Short Narrative of My Life," was never published in his lifetime. "A Short Narrative" provides marvelous insight into the challenges Occom faced as a teacher, a minister, a husband, and a father, and it speaks centrally to the widespread influence of the Great Awakening in bringing Christianity to those who lived on the margins of Anglo-American culture. However, the narrative also positions Occom at odds with white culture. His becomes the Indian voice crying out from the wilderness of racial prejudice and discrimination and calling for a radically hospitable Christianity that embraces all.

Certainly, Occom's life and ministry encompassed all of those positions. Occom's autobiography enables teachers to draw a direct line from the Great Awakening and New Light theology through Occom to David Walker and William Apess (Pequot) who, enabled by nineteenth-century liberalism, the nascent human rights movement, and vast technological changes in print practices, attack Christian praxis and vehemently defend the rights of people of color. This tradition of published dissent makes for a compelling narrative arc, especially when we acknowledge that Walker and Apess were able to criticize Christian praxis in a fashion that simply was not possible for Samson Occom in the 1770s. Therein lies the crux of the problem. Occom's *literary* reputation in his lifetime rested not on his personal struggles and his bitter criticism of racism among supporters of New England Indian missions, but rather on his sermon's careful negotiation between two poles: his participation in the Christian theocracy of New England and his vision of a radically hospitable Christianity that would welcome people of all races and social classes.

Situating *A Sermon* at the center of Occom's oeuvre complicates how we understand this negotiation and enables us to see both Occom's complicity in and his critique of white Christian behavior, a critique that must have resonated with white evangelicals, as evidenced by the popularity of his sermon. I do not mean to suggest that we should rely on popularity as our sole metric of value in determining what we teach and study. Rather, choosing *one* particular unpublished autobiographical text out of Occom's extensive literary manuscripts as the *only* Occom text misrepresents the body of his work. Further, if an outsider such as Occom were going to appear in print in the English colonies in the

1770s, it would be not as a critic of Christianity but rather as a proponent—someone deeply engaged with its mission, which is precisely the case with *A Sermon.*

What is remarkable about this sermon, however, is how Occom engages and revises the execution sermon, that stalwart genre of the Puritan New England theocracy, a genre which lingered decades after Puritanism itself had lost its sway. Used by clergy to explain and justify state-sanctioned executions, the most potent and symbolic act of state power, such sermons marked the difference between insiders and people whose crimes had sundered them from their communities. In fact, however, most of New England's criminally condemned were already, and had always been, outsiders. They were almost inevitably among the poor, the serving class, the religious other, or the racial other. They were executed not only as deterrent and punishment for the heinous nature of their crimes, but also because their contaminating presence threatened the sanctity of the community.[5] While Occom's sermon supports the legal decision to execute Moses Paul, he nonetheless argues that New England Indians must be accounted for in the community of Christian believers and must learn to live so that they are prepared to die. The physical presence of Indians inside the borders of that community was a given, bitterly acknowledged nearly one hundred years earlier in Mary Rowlandson's *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God, Together with the Faithfulness of His Promises Displayed* (1682). Rowlandson argues that although Indians might lurk inside the Anglo-American Christian community's physical borders—borders that had forcibly, through both military and legal means, grown to encompass Native communities—they were forever outside its theological fold, "othered" as praying Indians, who, like leopards, could not change their spots. Occom, writing a century later, passionately argues that Indians can no longer exist outside the spiritual boundaries of that Christian community, for their exclusion and mistreatment threaten that community with sin from within.

Before discussing Occom's *A Sermon* in detail, I will first explore the ways in which Native literacy practices and Christianity have historically been intertwined among New England's indigenous populations. Literacy in written languages often came at an enormous cost to indigenous peoples, as illustrated by the criminal conversion narrative of Patience Boston, discussed later in this chapter. But Native Americans were not simply passive recipients of literacy. They fashioned a new outsider genre, the "Dying Indian" speech, which would in turn create a powerful context for Samson Occom's execution sermon. Working within a framework of reference that encompassed the criminal conversion

narrative, the Dying Indian speech, and the execution sermon, a genre popular among all social classes in early America, especially when printed in cheap pamphlet format, Occom argued for the essential humanity of Native Americans, called out the white community for their moral lapses, and pleaded for the salvation of his Indian brethren.

Christianity and the Costs of Native Literacy

Heather Bouwman has vividly described Occom as being "up to his elbows in the written word,"[6] an apt description that might make one question Occom's place in a study of outsider authorship, especially given the status we might assume he achieved as an ordained minister. Of all the individuals discussed in *Empowering Words*, Occom's institutional stature was equaled only by John Marrant, who was himself a minister ordained by the Huntingdon Connexion. Certainly, a Presbyterian minister ranked higher in the social hierarchy than a slave, a sailor, a female soldier who masqueraded as a man, or a mechanic. And yet Occom's Indianness and his consequent outsider status crucially inflect his writings. As depicted in his letters, some of Occom's closest relationships with whites, such as his relationship with his former teacher and mentor, Eleazar Wheelock, were undermined by unequal power relations at best, and bad faith, betrayal, and racism at worst.[7] To grasp Occom's achievement and how he leveraged his outsider status in his sermon, we need first to review Native American literacy practices with regard to written languages in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British America.

Uncovering Native American literacy practices, however, poses problems even more vexed than studying literacy practices among Africans and African Americans in early America. Historical period, regional differences among the English settlers and their attitudes toward the indigenous population, and the receptivity of individual tribes to acculturating both to English cultural practices and to Christianity all inflect the degree of literacy among Native peoples at any time. Even when narrowing the field of study to eighteenth-century New England, uncovering Native literacy practices is complicated by the long but uneven history of evangelism among the indigenous peoples, the different educational practices followed by multiple missionary societies, the numerous languages and dialects spoken in New England, and varying translation practices with regard to the Bible and Christian theology. These are just a few of the obstacles to understanding Native literacy in written languages.

Despite these challenges, New England Native Americans had a long history of interactions with written language literacy and of varying degrees of collaborative authorship prior to the late eighteenth century. It is difficult to generalize about Native literacy practices in the seventeenth century, but we can assert that Christianity was the central route to literacy for Native peoples, as was true for any race of people in early British America. Given the Congregationalist imperative for believers to have direct access to Scripture, conversion was the raison d'être for literacy education in New England. Literacy acquisition in the seventeenth century was driven largely by English missionary supporters through Christian evangelism.[8] Certainly literacy acquisition drove John Eliot's mission in mainland Massachusetts to the Massachusett tribe and Thomas Mayhew's (and his descendants') mission to the Wampanoag tribe of Martha's Vineyard. In the last half of the seventeenth century, common practice was to translate Christian texts into Indian languages to make literacy acquisition easier for those converts who had imperfect or no mastery of English. Some texts were printed entirely in the Indian language, such as the translation of the Bible into Massachusett, *Mamusse Wunneetupanatamwe Up-Biblum God* (1685), generally known as the "Eliot Indian Bible," while others were printed in bilingual editions, such as *The Indian Primer or The First Book* (1720) which appears in side-by-side Massachusett and English translations. These publication projects required skilled linguists and translators, schoolmasters, and ministers who worked together and—crucially—printed texts. The absence of sufficient books was a perpetual complaint among missionaries, schoolmasters, and Indian converts and impeded literacy acquisition.[9]

Nonetheless, many New England Indians did learn to read and write, and they produced a variety of written documents, especially legal documents such as deeds, petitions, and wills used in their efforts to safeguard their lands. Some of these documents were written in English but others were written in their native languages transposed into the English alphabet.[10] In such circumstances, literacy acquisition, especially English-language literacy, would increasingly become a crucial strategy for survival and resistance. Literacy empowered Native Americans to take a central role in defending their tribal lands as Indian-white conflict moved from the battlefield to the courtroom. The discursive triumph of the Anglo-American provincial government in the eighteenth century was to elide that process by suggesting that military conquest was the chief mode of conquest. However, conquest, as Amy Den Ouden reminds us, was never complete; it was, and is, an ongoing process in New England, and it was always about land.[11]

While literacy was ultimately legally empowering for New England Indians as whites encroached upon their lands, E. Jennifer Monaghan, in a survey of literacy practices among the Massachusett and Wampanoag tribes, draws a striking conclusion about the interlinked practices of Christian conversion and literacy: Native peoples' acquisition of literacy required valuable time and cultural sacrifice, given that Christian missionaries were the teachers and religious texts were the only written sources of knowledge. To become literate required immersion in Christian theology, values, and practices. Acquisition of writing skills, however, while similarly requiring sacrifice of time, enabled writers to confront the compromises that they had made in learning to read.[12]

After the turn of the eighteenth century, Anglo-American missionaries and their supporters became less willing to accommodate Christianity and literacy to New England Indian languages.[13] They emphasized learning English as the route to Christian conversion, which created a sharper divide between Native and English cultures. This practice also discouraged the adaptation of Christianity to traditional indigenous cultural practices. Further, no coherent, cohesive approach to educating Native children had emerged. Although Congregationalism continued to dominate in New England, increasing religious diversity entailed more fragmented missionary efforts, and thus written language literacy education among Native children varied widely depending on their tribe and locale.

As the eighteenth century progressed, some Indian children, like English children, acquired literacy through home-based literacy practices, just as Phillis Wheatley was taught to read by the young Mary Wheatley. Illiteracy was widespread among the mainland Native population of New England, however, which rendered home-based literacy impractical in most cases. Monaghan notes that home teaching was especially prevalent among the Wampanoag of Martha's Vineyard, who embraced Christianity but adapted it to fit their own cultural practices. In that community, elite Indian families ensured that their children learned to read, even in the absence of schools or teachers.[14] Among the poor, according to Hilary Wyss, the "practice of binding Wampanoag children out as indentured servants to English families was a common way for parents to help their children acquire literacy skills when schools were not available." Such indentures were, then, a deliberate educational strategy on the part of parents who might otherwise have been capable of supporting their children. This strategy sometimes backfired, as Wyss discusses in the haunting example of Tobit Potter, who was indentured by his English-speaking mother to a white household to learn to read and write. He successfully acquired lit-

eracy and became a Christian. When he became mortally ill as a young man, he was returned to his mother to die. Surrounded by his tribe in his mother's home, Potter died in silence, unable to communicate with anyone but his mother. As Wyss explains: "Unable to make himself understood by those around him, and physically unable to speak by the time the missionary [Experience Mayhew] arrived, Tobit died without the spiritual guidance his long experience with the English had taught him to expect."[15]

By the early eighteenth century, home-based literacy similarly became possible for orphaned or abandoned children when they were bound out to more economically stable white families. Native children bound out in this manner were unfree, but they were not slaves. Therefore, the expectations for their care differed from those of slaves, although the quality of the care given to indentured children depended on the families in which they were raised. In exchange for their labor, children were housed and fed, taught to read, and raised as Christians. As a consequence, after the first few decades of English settlement, there was a cohort of at least nominally Christian Indians who had been trained in literacy in white households. While such a Christian upbringing was a route to literacy, it was not necessarily a route to economic stability. Alienated from their own culture and language by their upbringing, many indentured Indian children struggled as adults on the margins of white society. Unlike their white peers, they lacked economically secure family support networks that might enable them to start a business, learn a trade, or inherit a farm or other property. Consequently, as adults, many of these formerly bound-out Native Americans lived among whites as a racialized underclass.[16] One consequence of this dispersal of the Native population was the development of new regional ties among Native Americans that transcended traditional family and tribal affiliations. Daniel Mandell argues that "demographic, economic, and social pressures reshaped old ties and kinship loyalties into a modern ethnic identity."[17]

Joseph Quasson, the subject of *Summary Account of the Life and Death of Joseph Quasson, Indian* (1726), and Patience Boston, the subject of *A Faithful Narrative of the Wicked Life and Remarkable Conversion of Patience Boston Alias Samson* (1738), were two such individuals swept into this transition of identity. Both were from Monomoy (renamed Chatham when it was incorporated in 1712) on Cape Cod and were most likely members of the Monomoyick tribe, which had inhabited that area for centuries. Both were raised in white religious households, and both were taught to read. Both ended up in what is now Maine, and both were found guilty of murder. Quasson was convicted for the

1725 murder of a fellow soldier and kinsman, and Boston for the 1734 murder of a young boy, the grandson of her master. While jailed, each collaborated with ministers to produce a confession of his or her crimes and a narrative of spiritual conversion. The narratives that emerged from their trials and executions were ultimately overseen by their white collaborators, who shaped the narratives for their own ideological purposes; the Reverend Samuel Moody (variously spelled Moodey) later brought both criminal conversion narratives to publication after their subjects' deaths.[18] We cannot discount the participation of Quasson and Boston in the composition process, however, for they cooperated with and provided crucial personal information to their interlocutors.[19] Quasson and Boston *were* collaborative authors, albeit lacking in agency, and their stories illustrate the typical ways in which outsiders appeared in print in the early eighteenth century. As objects of condemnation and punishment, each prisoner was forced to surrender final authority over his or her words in order to grasp limited agency as speaking subjects. Even so, the New England elite ultimately controlled how their stories would be interpreted. As David Murray asserts: "Anything that was published, at least until the point of widespread Indian literacy, was likely to reflect the tastes of a white audience, and conform to a large extent to what at least some of them thought it was appropriate for an Indian to write."[20] Indians were consistently represented in print as some of the worst sort of sinners in need of redemption. Samson Occom's sermon intervenes in this discourse to argue that both whites and Indians sinned, but that Indians were especially likely to be sinned *against*.

Patience Boston's personal story, despite the "heinous Transgressions" to which she confessed, is tragic. Her mother died when Boston was three, and her father immediately bound her out to "a Religious Family," in which, she relates, "I was taught to Read, and learned the *Assembly's Catechism* thro.'" Boston recalls that she was warned against sin and urged to pray by her mistress, of whom she says, "I see that she was a Mother to me, though I was a wicked mischievous and rebellious Servant." Boston confesses that she lied, cursed, broke the Sabbath, stole, "kept bad Company, and followed lewd Practices," and even set fire to her master's house three times.[21] Becoming a free woman as an adult did not alter her self-destructive behavior, for then she took to drink. She re-bound herself when she married her husband, whom she describes as "a Negro Servant." Such Native-African marriages became common over the course of the eighteenth century. As Daniel Mandell explains: "Intermarriage became more frequent as Indian men died in the colonial wars or on whaling ships, or fled the province to escape debts. African men and their male

descendents took their place, largely because labor demands in New England brought nearly twice as many enslaved or bound men as women to the region, creating a demographic imbalance that complemented that of the Indians. White racial prejudice, and the Indians' and blacks' shared low socioeconomic status, also helped drive individuals from the two groups together."[22] From external points of view, such as those of eighteenth-century colonial census takers, Native Americans and Africans frequently were collapsed together into the category of "blacks," although individuals and groups maintained distinctive internal identities.

The stress of pregnancy and childbirth fueled Patience Boston's discontent with her circumstances and her sense of unworthiness. Her first child, whose arms were broken at birth, died soon after, while her husband was on a whaling voyage. During a second pregnancy, Boston briefly reformed and found pleasure in prayer, reading, and listening to her husband read aloud. "But," she says poignantly, "I left God, and he left me."[23] She reports feeling "*Murder* in my *Heart* towards my Second, as well as my first Child." After her second infant died somewhat mysteriously, Boston became convinced of her guilt and confessed to murdering it. Despite her confession, she pled not guilty, and a jury acquitted her. After being freed from jail, her indenture was sold several times, until she found herself in Maine. She continued drinking, unable to make a fresh start. After being rebuked for her drinking, a vengeful Boston drowned her master's grandson in a well. The twenty-two-year-old Boston was not without guilt and remorse: she confessed to this crime and to others. In fact, she must have had a surfeit of guilt. Her lifelong sense of unworthiness, her lack of belonging, her anger at her subservient status, and her inability to control her impulses created the perfect storm of violence directed at the only individuals less powerful than she: young children.

As a condemned prisoner, when Boston fretted about the disposition of her third child, she was assured: "I need not be distressed for my Child, either as to its Soul or Body; because it was disposed of into a Family where much Care would be taken for the Welfare of both." Boston rightly worried, however, given her own experiences as a bound-out child of color. She could only reply, "I had found by woeful Experience how little a religious Education would signify without the sanctifying Work of God's Spirit on the Heart." Despite her anxiety, she concluded: "If I had not learned to read, and been taught my Catechism, it would have been harder for me to come to the Knowledge of God & Christ."[24] Although this claim begs scrutiny, we cannot disentangle with any authority Boston's words from those of the Reverend Samuel Moody,

who ultimately shaped her narrative. Moody admits, in the preface to Boston's story, to revising her words: "It must be confessed, that it [her narrative] could not be exactly taken in her own Way of expressing her self."[25] Boston's final claim about the efficacy of reading and spiritual conversion would seem to appeal most strongly to religious leaders seeking support for their evangelistic activities, and Moody was such an evangelist. As Dan Williams explains: "In life, criminals were agents of disorder, but in death they became the opposite. When presented in popular narratives, criminal characters functioned in the same manner to reinforce civil authority and social conformity. Because of the selection and arrangement of materials, narratives established cause and effect relationships and thus provided readers with a perception of meaning."[26] The narrative that Moody brought to publication sought to persuade readers that despite the absence of "the sanctifying Work of God's Spirit" on Boston's heart as a young woman, literacy and the labors of other Christians ultimately brought her to God. Given the violence and despair that wracked Boston's short life—from childhood, she was warned that she was destined to end on the gallows—modern readers may be less convinced of the efficacy of a Christian upbringing for Indian children in a white family, if a lifelong sense of alienation and unworthiness were inevitable secondary effects.[27]

Despite her literacy, as a prisoner under a death sentence, Boston lacked the authority to ensure that her confession and story of conversion reflected her actual experiences. Her narrative was not published until more than two years after her execution, by which time memories were ineluctably shaded by her execution and the surety that justice had been rendered. However, Boston emphasizes repeatedly in her written confession that she had lied in previous confessions, such as when she confessed to murdering her second child, who apparently died in its sleep. Boston casts doubt on her own veracity and in an anarchic understory undermines the institutional purpose of her narrative: why should we believe *this* confession, *this* affirmation of the efficacy of literacy after she has told us how she despised authority, how often she lied, and how she had falsely confessed to crimes before? Regardless of the disbelief that Boston's narrative evokes, her conversion story reveals to us the poignant cultural dislocation of the Indian child living in a white society. Literacy and Christianity seem to have been poor compensation for the loss of a family, community, and cultural identity. Boston was the ultimate outsider, a poor, disturbed woman, and a racialized other, doomed to live on the margins of Anglo-American society and addicted to alcohol to salve her alienation. Yet her literacy and shrewd intelligence enabled her to perceive and, however obliquely, convey the depths of her alienation and degradation.

While New England Native peoples engaged in many other kinds of encounters with written literacy, narratives such as those of Patience Boston and Joseph Quasson reveal that literacy came at a great cost—or at least with great consequence—for some Native peoples. Unlike for people of English descent, acquisition of literacy was never entirely neutral in its process, and seldom entirely positive in its consequences. Literacy and the concomitant socialization into white New England culture that accompanied it were frequently corrosive to the psyche, resulting, in the case of Patience Boston, in the demise of four children: Boston's first two children, the grandson of her master, and the child that Boston had once been. Native literacy in the eighteenth century was no political or cultural panacea, nor was it a route to the kind of liberal individualism and self-determination that we see embodied in a nineteenth-century writer such as Frederick Douglass. Sometimes it is instead a dark thread running through the tapestry of eighteenth-century literacy studies, outlining the cultural dislocation and despair of displaced people living as outsiders in their own homeland, forcibly included in the provincial polity and struggling to retain their sovereignty.[28]

Samson Occom forms a crucial, if somewhat later, counterpoint to this dark thread, empowered not just by literacy but also by his ability to write and, through writing, not only to voice this dislocation but to point to its source: the bad behavior of white Christians in the wake of the greatest religious revival of the colonial era. One legacy of the Great Awakening was renewed Christian outreach to those previously unchurched, including the poor, the illiterate, and members of racial minority groups, as we saw with Phillis Wheatley and John Marrant. This outreach not only brought many of these individuals to Christianity, but it also brought them to literacy, as it did Occom. Fortunately for us, Occom left a clear, succinct summary in his autobiographical narrative of his initial experiences with literacy. Occom recalls that while he was growing up in Mohegan, near New London, Connecticut, in the 1720s and 1730s, nearly a hundred years after the English had first settled in Connecticut, English literacy education for Mohegan children was haphazard:

> There was a Sort of a School kept, when I was quite young, but I believe there never was one that ever Learnt to read any thing,—and when I was about 10 Years of age there was a man who went about among the Indian Wigwams, and where ever he Coud find the Indian Child, would make them read—but the Children Usd to take Care to keep out of his way; and he Us'd to Catch me Some times and make me Say over my Letters, and I believe I learnt Some of them. But this was Soon over too.[29]

Clearly there was resistance on the part of children to this manner of instruction, which does not seem to have garnered parental support either. Joanna Brooks reports that the Mohegan had several times rejected missionary outreach, including that of "James Fitch, appointed by the colony in 1671, and Experience Mayhew, who came to Mohegan in 1714." Despite their rejection of missionaries, the Mohegan, who had split from the Pequot tribe in Massachusetts around 1635 to establish a new territory, had a long history of military alliances with the English. These alliances ultimately were detrimental both to the Pequot, when the Mohegan sided with the English against them in the Pequot War (1636–37), and to the Mohegan themselves. As Brooks explains: "Tactical alliance with the English did not protect Mohegan territory against colonial expropriation."[30] This Mohegan model of simultaneous engagement with and resistance to English colonialism is similarly visible in Occom's individual experiences, particularly represented by his ordination as a minister and his involvement in the Mohegan legal struggles to retain their land rights.

Not until he was sixteen, Occom explains, when itinerant ministers began visiting his people during the Great Awakening, did Occom convert to Christianity. Then, he recalls, "I began to Learn the English Letters; got me a Primmer and Used to go to my English Neighbours frequently for Assistance in Reading, but went to no School."[31] Crucially, where Quasson and Boston came to literacy by being separated from their families and community, Occom learned by choice, firmly grounded in a sense of family and of himself as a Mohegan and an Indian, relationships that for him were inseparable and central to his identity. Occom's religious conversion—and his desire to convert others—drove his desire for English literacy, rather than English literacy driving his conversion. At the same time, however, Occom would have understood that literacy acquisition would also serve his tribe in crucial ways. As his own literacy skills increased, so did his desire to teach others, inspiring him "to wish, I was Capable of Instructing my poor Kindred." He explains: "I use to think if I Coud once Learn to Read I Woud Instruct poor Children in Reading."[32] Lisa Brooks reminds us that literacy for Occom was not solely in service of his faith: literacy enabled him to engage in the long-running efforts of the Mohegan to reclaim their historic lands in Connecticut, efforts which predated Occom's birth.[33] For Occom, then, literacy was politically empowering. Not until he was eighteen and "Could Read a little in the Bible," largely as a result of autodidacticism, did Occom seek out Eleazar Wheelock for formal literacy and religious instruction.[34]

Literacy, scholarly study, travel to Great Britain, ordination by the Pres-

byterian Church, and his ministerial profession unsettled Occom's status as a racial outsider in Anglo-America, but they did not alter it completely, nor did they relieve his poverty. Occom's situation is remarkably similar to that of Phillis Wheatley and John Marrant; their status was similarly unfixed but they, too, died impoverished. For Occom, these status-elevating factors, combined with his role in mediating between and among Native and white communities, guaranteed that he would always be simultaneously drawn to and repelled by Anglo-American culture because support, both spiritual and material, from Britain and the colonists was central to the success of his missionary efforts. Occom's spiritual autobiography and letters poignantly reveal his vital importance among his own people, yet he remained an outsider in Anglo-American culture, spiritually empowered by his status as a minister and yet undermined and impoverished by the very institutional structure that would have propelled a similarly gifted white American man into a more elite cultural status. Michael Elliott argues persuasively that Occom's "authority as a speaker derived from this liminal state in which his Indian identity was never put under complete erasure; he represented an ongoing conversion to English society that could never be completed."[35] If Occom was seldom allowed to forget his outsider status among the whites, he seems equally determined in his most popular work, *A Sermon*, to remind readers that standing outside of a particular culture can enable the best vantage point for seeing it clearly. In the wake of the Great Awakening, Occom leveraged his status as a simultaneous insider and outsider to critique Anglo-America and to carve out a public space for Christian Indians as an ethnic community.

Christian Conversion and the Dying Indian Speeches

Unlike the collaborative efforts that produced Patience Boston's narrative, Occom's *A Sermon, Preached at the Execution of Moses Paul, An Indian* was the product of individual authorship, leading some scholars to describe Occom as the first Native American who wrote deliberately for print.[36] While it is true that Occom was the sole author of his sermon, we must keep in mind that while he was speaking as an individual minister, he was always conscious of himself as a member of multiple communities. As a Mohegan who came to literacy only after his sense of self had already been shaped by—we might even say melded to—his tribal identity, he would always have been aware of himself as representing the Mohegan tribe, as speaking in a voice that was simulta-

neously individual and communal. He was also speaking as an ethnic Indian, an emerging identity in the eighteenth century.[37] With this kind of communal awareness, Occom's text differs from Briton Hammon's or John Marrant's or even Phillis Wheatley's elegy for Whitefield. Marrant and Hammon speak largely as individuals in their captivity narratives. Wheatley speaks simultaneously as a grieving individual, as a member of the evangelical community, and as a colonial; she also sought to unite these communities *through* her writing. While Occom did not seek out the opportunity to deliver Paul's sermon—Paul contacted him with the request—Occom shrewdly took advantage of the public platform that execution sermons offered. He drew freely from other modes and genres popular among New Englanders, most importantly the deathbed confession. Among early Christian Native Americans, the deathbed confession evolved into the Dying Indian speech, which enabled those believers to testify to their faith and, where necessary, offer a rebuke from the edge of the grave.

For Puritans in the northeastern colonies, the public confession of faith occupied a central role in how they embodied themselves as Christians. A confession of faith was a rite of admission; the convert testified to his or her faith experience in front of a congregation of believers. Decades before the first missionary efforts among New England Natives, this ritual was well established among the Puritans, until it was modified by the 1662 Half-Way Covenant, negotiated by Solomon Stoddard, to allow partial membership without a public confession of faith. To our modern-day understanding of church membership, the actual faith narrative and its public relation might seem to be the salient features of this ritual. However, for Puritans, a physical space was fundamental; the sanctified physical space of a church was necessary to facilitate the delivery of a true faith testimony.

In the earliest days of English evangelism to the Native peoples in Massachusetts Bay Colony, how and when could Indian believers testify to their faith in the absence of a church? The Dying Indian speeches came to fill this lacuna. As Kristina Bross explains: "In Puritan New England churches of the period, believers made public confessions of faith and so identified themselves as 'visible saints.' Before Indian churches were created, other forms of religious expression were needed to indicate the hopeful signs of regeneration to skeptical English observers. The dying speech, although it was always received with caution among Puritans, was one potent way to assert a Christian identity for the individual and the community."[38] Dying Indian speeches were essentially deathbed confessions of faith, adapted from English models, translated (if nec-

essary), recorded by a writer of English, and published as evidence of the success of missionary work.

There was a "right" way to die in colonial New England. Erik R. Seeman describes it this way: "In ministerially sanctioned expressions, the dying person reflected on his or her life, repented for sin, and put faith in mercy through Christ."[39] While the dying could never be completely confident of their salvation, they were expected to confess to their sins and model hope and calm resignation to God's will—the same qualities later expected of condemned criminals awaiting execution. Unlike English models, however, most Dying Indian speeches emphasized not the sins of the dying but rather their steadfast faith. As Bross notes, many of these early texts "are so heavily mediated that it is nearly impossible to uncover the experiences of Indians as Christians." Nonetheless, as Bross asserts, "in the deathbed speeches of Praying Indians, though transmitted by white writers, we glimpse a dynamic clergy-laity, English-Indian dialogue. As converts became adept in the conventions of Puritan religious speech, they used their dying speeches to assert the symbolic and lived value of their faith community."[40]

The recording of such speeches from the mid-seventeenth century through the early eighteenth century was intended to document the evangelical effectiveness of the Puritans on the Native peoples. The political dominance of Oliver Cromwell and his Puritan backers in the 1640s and 1650s had undermined the relevance of Massachusetts Bay Colony and the mission John Winthrop had articulated for that colony most famously in "A Model of Christian Charity." By collecting and publishing these speeches, colonial Puritans sought to justify to English audiences the continued relevance of Massachusetts Bay Colony. Further, as David Murray remarks with no small degree of irony, "dying speeches had the distinct advantage that there was no danger of subsequent backsliding."[41]

If Dying Indian speeches provided one early model for converts to testify to their faith, a central thematic issue linked these deathbed speeches to both the criminal conversion narratives, such as that of Patience Boston, and to the execution sermon genre that Samson Occom would follow: the destructiveness of alcohol for the Indian both as an individual and a community. The confession of Antony, one of John Eliot's earliest converts, illustrates this dynamic. Eliot prefaces Antony's speech by noting that he was "studeous to read the Scriptures . . . so that he learned to be a Teacher, but after the warrs, he became a lover of strong drink, was often admonished, and finally cast out from being a Teacher." Antony himself relates: "I am a sinner. I do now confess it, I have

long prayed to God, but it hath been like an *Hipocrite* . . . Love of strong drink is a lust I could not over come . . . tho *Major Gookins* and *Mr. Eliot* often admonished me: I confessed, they were willing to forgive me, yet I fell again."[42] Antony's dying speech was not complete, however. Rather than simply confess his sins, he used the powerful liminal position of the dying to admonish another convert, Daniel: "I say to you *Daniel*, beware that you, love not strong drink as I did, and was thereby undone. . . . Againe I say to you my Children, forsake not praying to God, goe not to strange places, where they pray not to God, but strongly pray to God as long as you live.[43] Speech after speech testifies to the salvation of the dying, but denunciation of alcohol becomes nearly a ritualistic humiliation of the Indian convert, not just in dying speeches and criminal conversion narratives, but also in execution sermons.[44] Even beyond the temporal boundaries of early America, we see similar ritual repetition of this trope. In their personal narratives, both William Apess and Mary Jemison mourn the effects of alcohol on children. Apess's grandmother broke his arm in a drunken rage, which led to his childhood indenture to a white family, and Jemison lost several sons to alcohol abuse.[45]

Crime, Punishment, and Samson Occom's Execution Sermon

Like criminal conversion narratives and Dying Indian speeches, execution sermons emphasized that salvation could triumph over sin. Through execution sermons, ministers justified the sentences for capital crimes, using Scripture to explain the sin and punishment of the condemned. The eighteenth-century variants of these sermons resolutely emphasize that it is never too late for the sinner to seek salvation. Similar to the captivity narrative, the execution sermon was originally a genre controlled by the elite, aimed at restraining the populace. As we saw with both the broadside elegy and the captivity narrative, however, genres have a way of escaping their narrow origins and being freely adapted by outsiders, who use them as readily accessible and widely understood formats to frame their differing experiences. Samson Occom's *A Sermon* strikingly illustrates how individual texts both play to and resist generic conventions. To understand how Occom transformed the genre to speak simultaneously to multiple publics, including the evangelical empire, the white majority, and a Native public, we first need to understand public executions and the origins and context of the execution sermon.

In using capital punishment, American Puritans were simply following En-

glish legal precedent, but for them, capital punishment was biblically mandated, delivering Old Testament justice.[46] Colonial authorities believed that capital punishment also served as a deterrent to potential sinners. The efficacy of execution as deterrent may be somewhat debatable given the large number of public executions in New England between 1623 and 1835; Scott Seay reports that there were at least 460 during this time.[47] If the executions did not actually deter crime, the execution sermon nonetheless ritually cleansed the community and sanctified the punishment. As Dan Williams explains: "Public execution was an elaborately staged ritual drama, and great care was taken in preparing the condemned criminals for their part. Those staging the execution, ministers and magistrates alike, knew that the condemned prisoners would be the focus of attention, and they exerted great effort in taking advantage of this popular curiosity."[48] Beyond their punitive nature, public executions represented an opportunity to represent, and a final invitation to embrace, God's redemptive love, both for the condemned sinner and to the community that had produced him or her. Earthly law still required that even regenerate sinners suffer bodily atonement for their crimes. But their sin and earthly punishment ideally led to an opportunity for spiritual redemption. The execution sermon showcased that opportunity. Occom would grasp the occasion to show that such redemption was available to, and needed by, both Indians and whites.

The Puritan execution sermon was originally inspired by English models, but, like many genres, it was transformed in the colonies. Ronald A. Bosco argues: "Although it is historically true that the practice of addressing condemned men at the gallows was current in England at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the New England Puritans' practice of preaching to condemned men both in church and at the gallows and their use of a sermon form rather than simple moral discourse or moral exhortation as was common in England appear to be unique in seventeenth-century English-speaking communities."[49] This transformation emerged from the efforts of colonial authorities in Massachusetts to merge religion, law, and their understanding of themselves as members of a covenanted community. The publication of execution sermons was also an invention of the New England clergy and printers. Daniel Cohen explains: "Although discourses to condemned prisoners . . . were often synopsized in other crime publications, they were rarely if ever published as separate books or pamphlets. As an autonomous literary genre, the execution sermon thus seems to have been an innovation of the New England Puritans."[50] While execution sermons, which were preached inside meetinghouses, were extraordinarily popular, they reached primarily a local audience and then

only those who could fit themselves in the largest meetinghouses, which could accommodate standing room only audiences ranging between 550 and 850 people.[51] Through printed execution sermons, however, ministers could reach many more people, over an extended period of time and at a distance.

Late eighteenth-century America had a strong appetite for crime literature. In addition to the execution sermon, newspaper accounts, trial transcripts, criminal conversion narratives, execution accounts, and crime ballads, inspired by popular English genres, also fed the general public's interest in, and anxiety over, criminal behavior.[52] A short account of Moses Paul's life, for example, appeared in a broadside that was sold on the day of his execution, complete with a crude engraving of a man hanging from the gallows surrounded by an enormous crowd.[53] Conversion narratives and ballads were especially likely to appear in inexpensive broadside format. Indeed, Occom's sermon was turned into a ballad that appeared as a broadside the year following Paul's execution; it was sold in Boston and Newport, suggesting widespread interest in Occom's work. There is no evidence that this ballad was written or approved by Occom. The ballad purports to quote Occom, who laments:

> Mean are our Houses, and we are kept low,
> Almost naked, shivering we go;
> Pinch'd for Food and almost starv'd we are,
> And many times put up with stinking Fare.[54]

Alcohol, of course, causes this woe, and while Occom would have agreed with that sentiment, he is hardly likely to have described his own food as "stinking Fare," a phrase reminiscent of Rowlandson's disgust at the food her captors ate while in a state of near-starvation during King Philip's War. The broadside format made criminal genres broadly accessible to a wide audience and facilitated sharing in public settings such as taverns and coffeehouses. Many of the broadsides represent themselves as having been authored by the criminal, which is unlikely,[55] but other genres, such as conversion narratives, discussed earlier in the context of Patience Boston and Native American literacy, were most likely produced collaboratively.

Despite the rise of these other crime genres, the execution sermon continued to hold sway in New England. Although Cohen notes that "ministers had lost their monopoly on New England crime literature by the 1730s, execution sermons continued to appear in a persistent, if somewhat intermittent, stream well into the nineteenth century. . . . Of the more than seventy-five volumes of execution sermons produced in the region between 1674 and 1825, over

two-thirds appeared after 1730."[56] Undoubtedly, the publication format of the execution sermon facilitated its popularity; pamphlets were not as cheap as broadsides, but because they were shorter and did not require elaborate binding, they were more affordable than books.[57] The execution sermon itself was not ultimately supplanted until the early Republic era, as trial reports gradually became the chief source of information about and interpretation of crime, with this change representing the dominance of law in an increasingly religiously fragmented and secular society.[58]

Even as the Puritan influence declined during the long eighteenth century, its most powerful rituals lingered. The execution sermon was one such public ritual, still deeply engaged with a sense of whom New Englanders were as a people, a people increasingly diverse and religiously fragmented, but who, by virtue of their status *as* New Englanders, became vested in its corporate history. Usually delivered the Sunday before the execution, but sometimes delivered the day of the execution, and always drawing enormous crowds, the execution sermon united the community, making auditors complicit in the punishment that was about to occur.[59] The sermon functioned as one of what Sacvan Bercovitch calls "a set of rituals of anxiety." Such rituals were designed to inflame anxiety about the unfulfilled nature of their mission, their original errand into the wilderness. "The errand, after all, was by definition a state of *un*fullfillment," Bercovitch argues, "and only a sense of crisis, properly directed and controlled, could guarantee the outcome."[60] Later eighteenth-century execution sermons crucially functioned *to make explicable the inexplicable*—the random murder of a stranger was not random but rather was the result of a series of actions. Execution sermons gave auditors and readers reasons. Pure evil did not exist; rather, a series of actions predictably *produced* evil behavior. Execution sermons revealed the sin lurking within the community but also guaranteed its expulsion through the execution itself and offered advice about how to prevent such sin in the first place.

The cooperation of the criminal, then, in staging this spectacle was crucial. Despite their physical powerlessness in the months leading up to their executions, "condemned criminals," as Williams reminds us, "were figures of power and influence."[61] Prisoners frequently requested the ministers who would conduct their execution sermons. As Wayne C. Minnick argues: "Authors of execution sermons ranked among the best educated, most influential men of their society."[62] The execution sermon literally offered a prestigious platform for ministers. Prisoners were allowed out of jail to attend the execution sermon, and the minister was given access to the prisoner for counseling and prayer.

Usually the minister accompanied the condemned to the gallows. Given their open-air setting, executions drew crowds even more enormous than execution sermons; they typically numbered in the thousands.

If many people heard the sermon delivered orally, or witnessed the execution and understood the crimes that were committed and the punishment that was mandated, why *read* a copy of the sermon? The attractiveness of the printed execution sermon was obvious for its authors, but what was its appeal to readers? For modern readers, other popular genres such as the captivity narrative or the broadside elegy might seem to have more apparent cultural, political, and religious resonance. Yet the execution sermon was an extraordinarily popular genre that appealed to readers for a variety of reasons. Most important was its Christian orientation. These were, after all, sermons aimed at saving the souls of those guilty of grievous sins. If even the condemned could reach for God's mercy, why not the ordinary sinner? As Karen Halttunen explains: "When ordinary New Englanders heard their clergymen assuring murderers that 'there is Life to be had for such an one as *thou* art; yea even for *thee* there is Life,' they experienced renewed hope that they too might be saved."[63] Crimes could not be undone, but the penitent could reach for salvation. Prurient curiosity might well have played a role, as well as an interest in seeing justice served upon the guilty. For those beyond the immediate geographical area of the execution, a sermon printed in inexpensive pamphlet format enabled them to participate in the experience even at a geographic and temporal remove.

The tremendous popularity of Occom's sermon arose from a confluence of factors. Although the religious fervor of the Great Awakening had waned many years earlier, general interest in religion flourished, and no doubt the novelty of an Indian delivering an execution sermon for another Indian attracted some readers, as Occom anticipated. For many readers, however, buying a copy of Occom's sermon supported their evangelical inclinations. Such a purchase enabled them to "buy in" to religious outreach to marginal populations, despite the fact that Occom would have received profit only from the edition produced by the initial publisher of his sermon; profits from other editions went straight into the printer's pocket. Purchase of Occom's sermon enabled a sense of Christian efficacy for the buyer, even if profits went to those printers who pirated copies of his sermon. As a form of Christian consumption, ownership of this sermon potentially enabled Christians to feel better about themselves as Christians and about the spread of Christianity.

Occom delivered his sermon in New Haven's First Congregational Church on 2 September 1772, the day on which Moses Paul would be hung, convicted

of the premeditated murder of Moses Cook outside a New Haven tavern on 7 December 1771. Both Paul and Cook had been drinking at David Clark's tavern on a Saturday night, when Paul was refused further service on the grounds that he was drunk. After that point, the stories diverge. The prosecution maintained that Paul lay in wait outside the tavern, preparing to attack someone out of anger over his treatment. Although Paul did not dispute that he killed Cook, he appealed his conviction on the grounds that the jury misunderstood the witness testimony at his trial and wrongly found him guilty of premeditation; he argued that he had not premeditated Cook's murder and, further, that he struck Cook with a club, not a flat iron, and did not mean to kill him. Had the superior court in New Haven not rejected his appeals, Paul might have been found guilty of manslaughter instead of premeditated murder, which was a capital offense. When his appeals failed, Paul, who was Wampanoag, requested that Occom deliver his execution sermon, even though they were not personally acquainted and Occom had not previously been involved in counseling Paul during his imprisonment, a task that had fallen to the local New Haven ministers.[64] Occom preached his sermon, accompanied Paul to the gallows, and then quickly readied his sermon for publication; it issued from the New Haven press of T. and S. Green the next month.

Occom begins his printed sermon in a curious fashion, with a preface noting: "The world is already full of books; and the people of God are abundantly furnished with excellent books upon divine subjects; and it seems, that every subject has been written upon over & over again." As a result, "the people in very deed have had precept upon precept, line upon line, here a little and there a little; and so in the whole, they have much, yea, very much, they have enough and more than enough." In light of this excess, we must return to that question with which I began this chapter—Occom's query: "What folly and madness is it in me, to suffer any thing of mine to appear in print, to expose my ignorance to the world." He affirms his humility in the introduction to the sermon, when he makes it clear that his ministerial task was "an unwelcome" one and that he preached only at the earnest request of Paul.[65] In many ways, Occom's humility in his preface simply echoes the customary humility expected in an eighteenth-century preface, especially one written by an outsider. And yet Occom's humility and "ignorance"—his recognition of his low status in the eyes of the majority of the white Christian world—become his strengths. For in spite of the abundance of printed words, of precepts aimed at shaping good behavior, New Englanders still sinned. Did the problem lie in the people? Or did the failure lie in the delivery of the precepts? Or was it perhaps the failure of both that led to continued sin? Occom's sermon seeks to answer these questions in an acces-

sible fashion that resonated with the historical practices of Native Christianity. Crucially, Occom acknowledges his shared kinship with Moses Paul but also argues for recognition of Native peoples' kinship with the rest of humanity.

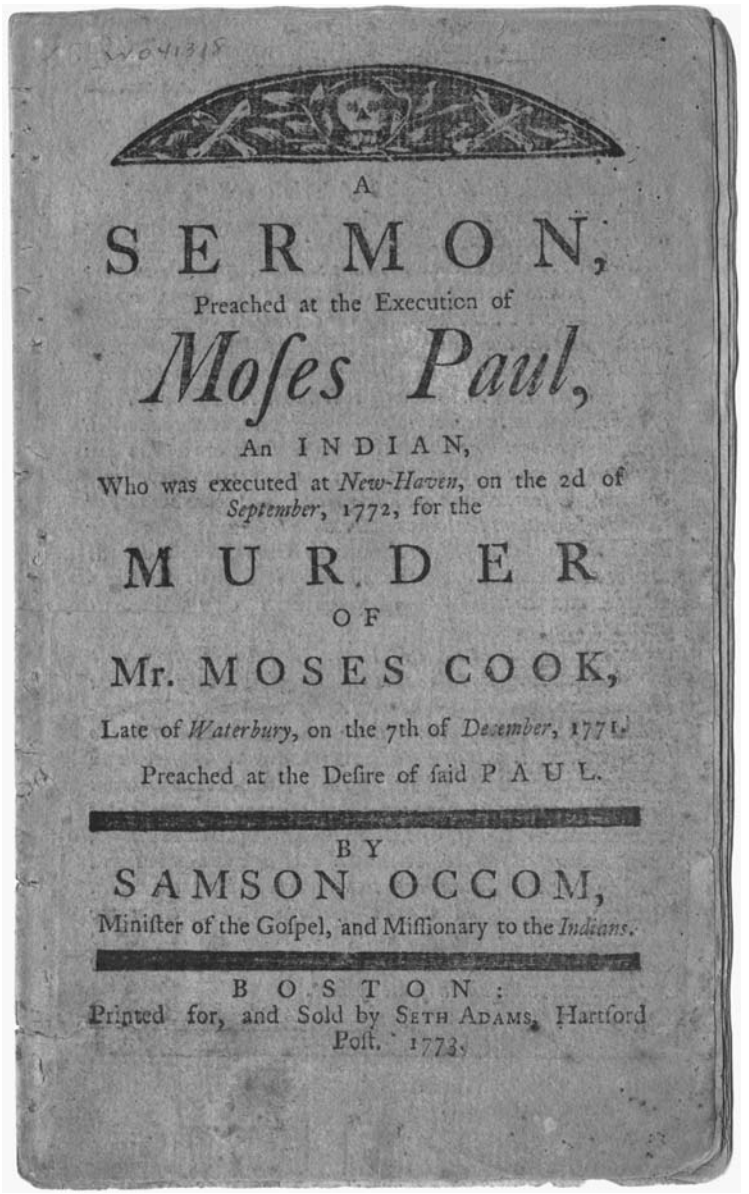
Occom reasons that the learned rhetorical style of sermons was partly responsible for New England's continued communal failures. Gently rebuking New England's elite, especially the Old Lights, who aimed their message at the educated and the economically secure, Occom explains that much of what appeared in print in colonial New England was written in "very high and refined language," and "in a very high and lofty stile." As a consequence, "the common people understand but little of them." By contrast, Occom promises: "I think they can't help understand my talk; it is common, plain, every day talk: little children may understand me. And poor Negroes may plainly and fully understand my meaning, and it may be of service to them. Again, it may in a particular manner be serviceable to my poor kindred, the Indians. Further, as it comes from an uncommon quarter, it may induce people to read it, because it is from an Indian." In both method and manner of delivery, Occom promises a sermon that will be accessible to all, even outsiders, and particularly those who had come to comprise the bottom rung of the ethnic ladder: Indians and African Americans. Occom understood that as a speaker representing an "uncommon quarter"—a minister who was a Mohegan, he was a novelty; the novelty of his sermon would appeal to readers, and he was willing to trade upon that advantage. Further, Occom had time, between the delivery of the sermon, which he describes as being on "a stormy and uncomfortable day," to revise it. He explains that he "altered and enlarged [it] in some places," likely to facilitate his goal of accessibility, but also with a sense that the audience for his oral sermon differed from the larger and broader audience that would experience his sermon through print.[66] The combined force of these factors resulted in an immensely popular sermon that was printed in at least nineteen editions and became, during the 1770s, the seventh most frequently reprinted text in the colonies and the early United States.[67]

Occom's sermon itself is organized conventionally, taking as its text Romans 6.23: "For the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord." With this verse, Occom affirms the court's capital judgment against Paul, whose sin wrought not only the death of Moses Cook, but his own death in retribution. The greater "wages of sin" was not simply earthly death, but eternal death, the eternal separation of the spirit from God. Occom warns his auditors that while humans should always be preparing themselves to die well, "death is the least thought of. They go on from day to day, as if they

were to live here forever, as if this was the only life. They contrive, rack their inventions, disturb their rest, and even hazard their lives in all manner of dangers, both by sea and by land . . . and at the same time have little or no contrivance to die well." In a simple but beautiful turn of phrase, Occom reminds us, "there is none so fit to live as those that are fit to die; those that are not fit to die are not fit to live."[68] He speaks here with extraordinary oratorical power, all the more remarkable because it is largely absent from his autobiographical narrative. Occom's message in this part of the sermon is directed not specifically at Moses Paul, but at all his auditors. They—whites and Indians and Africans alike—are all encompassed by Occom's use of words such as "mankind" and "every man and woman." He aims to help auditors understand that death is something for which we must prepare, but too many of us live in the moment, as if we shall always live in the moment, not understanding the vast difference between human time and eternal time. "O eternity, eternity, eternity! Who can measure it?" he asks. "Who can count the years thereof? Arithmetic must fail."[69] The irony of his claim about his audience's failure to understand time is that European cultures were fundamentally organized around a linear conception of time, as opposed to the Native privileging of space. For all their concern with time, the whites in his audience still failed to grasp the concept of eternal time.

The title page of the first edition of Occom's sermon supports this somber disquisition on death. Given that he authorized the first edition, it makes sense that it, among all the editions of his sermon, presents the most sober face to the world, putting readers in a suitably serious frame of mind before they begin reading. The words "Sermon" and "Execution" appear in all capital letters. Mourning rule, those thick black bars on printed texts that indicate to readers the subject of death, brackets Samson Occom's name. Subsequent editions varied considerably in their presentation. Individual printers chose what elements of the title they would emphasize via font and font size or image. An edition issued in New London sometime before 13 November 1772 is perhaps the most graphically interesting, with a memento mori image decorating the top of the page and gothic lettering used to spell out the word "Murder." Other editions, such as a Boston imprint, repeated the memento mori imagery. Later editions joined other texts with the sermon. Two British editions, for example, included a dialogue between Occom and Moses Paul, imagined to have occurred the night before Paul's execution.[70]

Sin, which Occom defines as "the transgression of the law," unfits humans to die well. For this reason, he sees sin as "the cause of all the miseries that befall the children of men, both as to their bodies and souls, for time and eternity."



A

SERMON,

Preached at the Execution of

Moſes Paul,

An INDIAN,

Who was executed at *New-Haven*, on the 2d of *September*, 1772, for the

MURDER

OF

Mr. MOSES COOK,

Late of *Waterbury*, on the 7th of *December*, 1771.

Preached at the Deſire of ſaid PAUL.

BY

SAMSON OCCOM,

Miniſter of the Goſpel, and Miſſionary to the *Indians*.

BOSTON:

Printed for, and Sold by SETH ADAMS, Hartford Poſt. 1773.

The title page from a 1773 edition of Samson Occom's *A Sermon, Preached at the Execution of Moses Paul, an Indian*. The Library Company of Philadelphia.

It has a corrosive effect on the natural state of humans: "Sin has made him beastly and devilish; yea he is sunk beneath the beasts, and is worse than the ravenous beast of the wilderness. . . . I said he is worse than the ravenous beasts, for wolves and bears don't devour their own kind, but man does." With these examples, auditors would recall the historical association between Native Americans and the wilderness, particular in Rowlandson's captivity narrative, where she explicitly labels her Native captors as wolves, bears, and devils. But here, Occom speaks not specifically of Native Americans, but of the workings in general of sin upon the human spirit. His context becomes clearer in the next paragraph, when he writes: "Sin has made men dishonest and deceitful, so that he goes about cheating and defrauding and deceiving his fellow men in the world."[71] Although Occom continues to speak generally here, we cannot help but contextualize this judgment against white treatment of Native peoples with regard to land negotiations, particularly given Occom's own involvement in the long-running *Mohegan Indians v. Connecticut* legal case concerning colonial encroachment on tribal lands. Bad faith and dishonesty in treaty making and breaking become not purely matters for legal judgments, but spiritual matters as well; they are sins against "fellow men." Undoubtedly, these sins of the white community brought about material deprivation and suffering for the Native peoples, which in turn fueled the sins of Native people as some of them turned in despair to alcohol. Occom tacitly alludes to this point near the end of his sermon, when he warns that the inebriated "may be robb'd, or he may make a foolish bargain, and be cheated out of all he has."[72] Occom had been reprimanded by the missionary board earlier in his career for his outspoken participation in the Mohegan land case, but here he is on firm theological ground in his reproof of both whites and Indians.[73]

Occom's invocation of the apostle Paul similarly merits special notice. Paul, who authored Romans and the passage which Occom used as his scriptural text, was, after his conversion to Christianity, persecuted by both the Jews and the Romans. Occom reminds his readers that Paul "was hated, revil'd, despised, laughed at, and called by all manner of evil names; was scourged, stoned and imprisoned;—and all cou'd not stop his activity toward God. . . . Tho' he suffered hunger and thirst, cold and heat, poverty & nakedness by day & by night, by sea and land, & was in danger all ways; yet he would serve God amidst all these dangers."[74] In citing Paul as a model of spirituality, Occom invokes a model of peaceable resistance. As Paul justly resisted Roman and Jewish authorities, maintaining his faith even through a long period of imprisonment, so, too, should Native Americans feel justified in legally resisting provincial

infringement on their land and their traditional ways of living, for these encroachments negatively affect Native peoples' ability to live morally.

Throughout Occom's discussion of sin and death, he gestures simultaneously toward a general audience of Christians and a specifically Native audience. Traditionally, ministers directed at least a portion of the application section of their sermons toward the condemned. Occom's sermon follows the pattern, but he directs readers' attention to his own subject position when he acknowledges his kinship with Moses Paul, saying, "you are the bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh. You are an Indian, a despised creature; but you have despised yourself." With "bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh," Occom quotes Genesis 2:23 and, with no ado, asserts monogenetic origins for the Native peoples—that is, that all humans descend from Adam and share kinship.[75] Occom, however, also acknowledges his special kinship with Paul; they are members of an ethnic community of Natives, but they are also members, along with whites, of one human race, all of whom are prone to sin and frequently act against their own spiritual interests.

Although Occom recognizes his kinship and sympathizes with Paul, he defends Paul's punishment: "The just laws of man, and the holy law of Jehovah, call aloud for the destruction of your mortal life; God says, 'Whoso sheddeth mans (sic) blood, by man shall his blood be shed.'" Allegiance to New England theocracy overweighs Occom's ethnic connection to Paul who is already dead, "yea twice dead," for he is spiritually dead and "dead to all the pleasures of this life." Worse yet is what awaits him: "eternal death." Reminiscent of Jonathan Edwards's language in *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God*, Occom warns Paul that "devils are ready to drag your miserable soul down to their bottomless den, where everlasting wo and horror reigns; the place is filled with doleful shrieks, howls and groans of the damned."[76]

Occom can find no excuse for Paul's behavior: He was raised a Christian and "can read and write well; and God has given you [Paul] a good natural understanding: and therefore your sins are so much more aggravated," for, as Occom warns, "you have sinned with both your eyes open."[77] Ignorance was no excuse for Paul: he was taught how to live but instead chose to sin, which Scott D. Seay defines as "willful transgressions against the law."[78] Here, we see how eighteenth-century execution sermons, and Occom's in particular, differ from seventeenth-century sermons, which tend to blame crime on innate depravity rather than individual sin.[79] This information about Paul's literacy is intended to assure readers that Paul was raised properly—that he had every opportunity to learn how to live without sin but simply chose to sin. Nonethe-

less, the sheer structural repetition in the annals of New England crime literature of the Indian child bound out to a white household, raised as a Christian and taught to read and write, yet struggling with alcohol and consuming rage as an adult, suggests the failure of this process. What else were children taught, alongside their literacy? Were they, like poor Patience Boston, told they were destined for the gallows? On the other hand, this repetition of Indian sinners shows us what the popular reading audiences wanted. For them, the tale of the drunken, violent Indian given the opportunity for redemption through being raised in Christian literacy affirmed all their prejudices, about both Indians and about Christian redemption. Readers could rest smugly assured that Christian salvation was open to all, but that Native Americans were somehow more grievously prone to sin, a reciprocal set of beliefs that would in turn justify the unequal treatment of Indians at law.

Even the worst deliberate sinner, Occom reminds us, has the opportunity to receive the "free gift" that Jesus offers for repentant sinners, for he calls out not to the regenerate, but to sinners. Occom creates a sense of urgency and immediacy: "O Moses! this is good news to you . . . here is a crucified Saviour at hand for your sins; his blessed hands are out-stretched, all in a gore of blood for you." The Jesus Occom imagines here is the earthly, bloodied, suffering Jesus, the one who cries out in Luke 23:24, "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do," who is also willing to take on Moses Paul's sins. Paul's penitence could not save him from earthly judgment, but it could save him from divine judgment. If he would only receive Jesus, "it would be the beginning of heavenly days with your poor soul . . . it would be a wedding day to your soul; it would cause the very angels in heaven to rejoice."[80] Katherine Grandjean points out that most crime literature attests to hardening notions of racial difference—specifically racial inferiority in the case of Indians—as the eighteenth century progressed. Execution sermons, however, resisted this racialization in their insistence that Indians had the same opportunity for Christian redemption as anyone else.[81] Occom, as an Indian himself, preaching an execution sermon for another Indian, was in a unique position to advance this argument and present it in print to an extraordinarily wide audience.

Occom's sermon takes a different turn when he addresses what he calls "the whole auditory." Occom recognized that not all those present were there to learn from his message; some had come for the public spectacle. To those, he begs for a serious decorum and respect for the dignity of the condemned. While he had implored his Christian auditors to pray for Paul's soul, Occom asked of the unregenerate: "for you, that don't regard religion . . . I would intreat

you seriously to consider the frailty of corrupt nature, and behave yourselves as becomes rational creatures." Occom warns his audience that while they might not be under earthly judgment as sinners, in the eyes of the divine they were equal in sin to Moses Paul, "by nature . . . under sentence of death from God, as this miserable man is, by the just determination of man."[82]

Initially, Occom spares his fellow ministers from this criticism, urging them in martial terms to gird their loins with spiritual truth and arm themselves with "the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God." Certainly, there is ironic double-voicing in this passage, as Occom urges ministers to take up the sword of the spirit in a battle for the souls of Indians, who had, in New England's colonial wars, been put bodily to the sword. The job of "Christ's ambassadors" is "to give a portion to every soul in due season . . . according to their spiritual maladies; whether it be agreeable or disagreeable to them, you must give it to them; whether they will love you or hate you for it, you must do your work."[83] While Occom here directly addresses his fellow ministers, he also addresses his own role; his responsibility, as minister to Moses Paul and to his brethren, requires that he "give a portion to every soul in due season"—that he address their spiritual maladies and those of his audience, whether they or his fellow ministers like what he has to say. Implicit in what seem like inspirational comments to his fellow ministers is the criticism that they had not been addressing the spiritual maladies of New England as they should have. If they had done so, Native Americans' rights to their land and to equal treatment would have been respected.

Occom both rebukes and commiserates with the Indians in his audience as he attacks the "sin of drunkenness." Through drunkenness, Occom thunders, "we are poor, miserable, and wretched . . . for this sin we are despised in the world, and it is all right and just, for we despised ourselves more; and if we don't regard ourselves, who will regard us?" Addiction to alcohol renders Indians impoverished, debased, homeless, and starving. Children suffer even worse—"All this is for the love of strong drink." Occom spares no epithets: drink turns his brethren into beasts, abominations, and fools. Their suffering from their sin will not end with death, for "[w]ithout a doubt they [drunkards] must all go to hell, except they truly repent and turn to God."[84] This discussion of alcohol would have had special resonance for Occom, for he grappled at times with rumors about his own susceptibility to alcohol.[85]

Slyly, though, after labeling drunkenness a sin and acknowledging, in a humble fashion, the alcohol problem that plagued his fellow Native Americans, Occom overturns the expectations of his audience. While his denuncia-

tion of drunkenness, most specifically of drunken Indians, was nothing that had not been heard in an execution sermon before,[86] Occom immediately calls out those he considers likewise culpable in the sin of drunkenness: "men, who put their bottles to their neighbours mouth to make them drunk, that they may see their nakedness: and no doubt there are such devilish men now in our days, as there were in the days of old."[87] Occom obliquely refers in this passage to Noah's drunkenness in Genesis 9; his son Ham, the first husbandman, cultivated grapes that created wine. Ham saw his father drunk and naked, and consequently Noah cursed Ham's son, Canaan, in Genesis 9:25 to be a "servant of servants to his brethren." This story was frequently used in early America to justify the slavery of Africans, but here Occom reverses the usual association: the spiritual descendants of Ham are not the Africans but the white merchants, tavern keepers, and colonial authorities who know the "nakedness" of the Native Americans. They recognize the Native peoples' vulnerability to alcohol but supply them with it anyway and use their susceptibility to rob them of their property. White men had failed to love their Indian neighbors as themselves, and Occom, borrowing from the jeremiad tradition that merged social criticism with faith, rebukes the community as a whole for its failing.[88] Through his understanding of New England's sermonic tradition and his mastery of Scripture, Occom turns the tables on auditors who thought they were attending the execution to see Paul reprimanded and punished for his sins. Instead, Occom used his execution sermon to point to the failure of the white community to put Christian theology into practice.

In this sense, Occom's *A Sermon, Preached at the Execution of Moses Paul* looks backward to New England's past, resonating with the criminal confession, Dying Indian speeches, and the jeremiad, while simultaneously looking forward to its future. For Occom, the execution sermon became the deathbed scene writ large; Occom was both the minister, that figure of religious authority recording the words of the sinning but regenerate Native convert, and the Native convert himself, speaking from the metaphorical edge of the grave to exhort his brethren to salvation. Occom longs for both an earthly future, in which white Christians welcome their Indian brethren, and an eternal future, in which Indians, like any other "rational creatures," grasp the opportunity for salvation. Occom's disagreement is not with Christian theology or the intertwining of law and theology in New England; indeed, his sermon supports Paul's execution. Rather, he seeks to bring the peaceable kingdom to earth. Addressing his audience collectively, Occom calls out: "O let us all reform our lives, and live as becomes dying creatures, in time to come."[89] "Us" here signi-

fies all his audience: Native Americans, blacks, and whites; ministers and lay people; the free and the unfree; and the confessed sinners and the hypocrites.

For writers of color, such as Phillis Wheatley, John Marrant, Briton Hammon, and Samson Occom, religious genres, such as the elegy or sermon, or religiously inflected texts, such as the captivity narrative, offered the most accessible routes to print. These genres were most likely to be published in cheap formats such as broadsides and pamphlets, which facilitated access by readers at all economic levels. Popular and widely read, these genres enabled writers of color to emphasize shared experiences, such as the struggle with sin or the loss of a loved one, or the cultural dislocation caused by captivity—themes which spoke deeply to the Anglo-American imagination, regardless of race. Even as they addressed a broad public audience, Native writers were simultaneously engaging a Native public. For Occom in particular, writing in such a religiously inflected genre empowered him to use the evangelical empire to embody his resistance to the British political empire. Literate and learned, Occom claimed spiritual equality for his brethren and demanded that Christian praxis follow Christian principle for all races.

Chapter 4

Becoming "The American Heroine"

Deborah Sampson, Collaboration, and Performance

While Briton Hammon and John Marrant relied on collaboration to produce their captivity narratives, Deborah Sampson, a female Revolutionary War soldier, took collaboration to new levels with a biography, an address, and poetry, even though only one of these texts bears her name as author. Consequently, she challenges our understanding of what constitutes authorship, especially as it intersects with cultural performance. Where Hammon, Marrant, and Phillis Wheatley invoke literacy and Christianity to claim an Anglo-American identity, Sampson invokes nationalism, patriotism, and genealogy. Like the profession of Christianity, these modes of self-identification were available and empowering even to poor outsiders like Sampson, and they point to the increasing secularization of mass American culture. Using her embodied self in conjunction with texts, Sampson sought to represent the nation as Columbia, arguing that patriotism and valor were not limited by sex, even though the operative discourse of republicanism claimed valor as a specifically masculine quality linked to the citizen-soldier.

Although whiteness was certainly enabling to Sampson in a fashion that she leaves unexamined, but which is discussed later in this chapter,[1] Sampson's success at transforming herself into a celebrity depended largely on four interrelated factors that she controlled: first, her ability to fulfill expectations for both masculine and feminine virtue; second, her strategic deployment of male intermediaries to speak for and represent her in the public sphere; third, her understanding of the performative nature of gender; and, finally, and most important, her keen awareness of the importance of print in shaping public opinion. Given that Sampson was literate, courageous, ambitious, and resourceful,

her use of intermediaries to represent her in print indicates yet another strategic choice and yet another performance, but in these cases a performance of female modesty. Her manipulation of so many other authors forces us to question the typical scholarly assumption that credits the most literate of a pair of collaborators as the most dominant or influential in producing a text. Ultimately, the trajectory of Sampson's fame suggests that even poor, powerless outsiders understood and could manipulate the growing power of print to shape public opinion in the early national era. The extraordinarily charismatic individual had definite advantages in this arena.

Sampson was not alone in testing the limits of republican discourse during the American Revolution. At least four poor white women—and possibly more—masqueraded as men in order to enlist in the Continental Army or colonial militias as combatants, motivated, at least in part, by the desire to collect the enlistment bonus.[2] Deborah Sampson enlisted twice. Upon her second, successful enlistment in 1782 at age twenty-one under the name "Robert Shurtliff,"[3] Sampson served approximately eighteen months, during which time she was wounded. Later she was hospitalized with a contagious fever; during this hospitalization, her caregivers discovered her biological sex, which led to her discharge. After many years of struggle, Sampson eventually collected back pay with interest from the state of Massachusetts and an invalid pension from the U.S. government. She became the subject of newspaper articles, a poem, a portrait, an engraving, and numerous biographies, the first of which, Herman Mann's 1797 *The Female Review*, Sampson collaborated on. In these early works, Sampson was celebrated as a patriotic heroine of the American Revolution. In recent years, she has become a feminist symbol and an icon of cross-dressing.[4]

By way of contrast, the other poor white women who enlisted in the Revolutionary-era military earned only humiliation. Ann Bailey, who enlisted under the name "Samuel Gay," was tried for fraud, found guilty, fined, and jailed; most of what we know of her ignominy emerges from the records of the Massachusetts Superior Court of Judicature.[5] Anne Smith, who enlisted under the name "Samuel Smith," was similarly jailed for her imposture.[6] Historians have identified yet a fourth woman who enlisted in the Continental Army; ostensibly she enlisted as a man to escape parental authority. Her accidental curtsy to an officer betrayed her. Consequently, she was subject to an intentionally degrading strip search and, according to Lieutenant William Barton, author of the letter by which we know of this event, was drummed out of town, a scene which he dispassionately describes: "Curious seeing her dress'd in mens Clothes and [th]e whores march Beating."[7] These four women, all of whom represented themselves as men and sought combatant status during the

American Revolution, were treated in wildly disparate ways. Sampson earned accolades; her sister soldiers earned ignominy. How did Sampson engage in a successful masquerade? More important, how did she emerge victorious in the battle for public approval?

Sampson's eager engagement with print culture made all the difference. Given that her wartime actions and her pursuit of public acclaim undermined in significant ways the precepts of republican womanhood, those precepts which placed women in the home and emphasized the importance of modesty, virtue, and chastity as women raised and educated the next generation of male leaders of the Republic,[8] Sampson's public acclaim is nothing short of astonishing. It is even more astonishing when one considers that Sampson individually authored none of the published works popularly associated with her, leaving behind only a brief diary, two short letters, and several governmental petitions; even those petitions may have been authored by others. Certainly, she stretches the boundaries of what we consider collaborative authorship. The limited nature of her literary remains is no index to her participation in print culture, however. Sampson exercised her agency not in writing but in persuading more powerful men to write *about* her—a process that enabled her celebrity and compels us to reconsider the nature of collaboration.

Despite her transgression of gender roles, Sampson understood their cultural importance and astutely parlayed her chastity into public avowals of her character by men of note, while simultaneously claiming that her cross-dressing for military service was driven by patriotism—not an attempt to usurp the prerogatives of white manhood. By accentuating the performative nature of gender in both Mann's collaborative biography and in the public oration that she delivered on a speaking tour, she contextualized her masquerade as if she were an actor playing a role under the exigent circumstances of revolution. Like an actor, after the closing of the final scene of war, Sampson threw off her masculine garments and largely resumed the dress and behavior expected of women in her era, using her agency to persuade men to write for her, rather than write for herself, and in so doing emphasize, again, how she violated cultural ideals of femininity.

Inventing Agency and an Identity

At first glance, Sampson's failure to write for herself—or at least make a prima facie claim for herself as author in the sense that Briton Hammon's narrative does for him—seems to imply a lack of agency. It suggests that Sampson's

public identity was shaped primarily by various men (and later women) of letters according to their own ideological exigencies over two hundred years of myth making. To a certain extent, the latter of these assumptions is true. Historically, Sampson's identity has been remade by every generation to answer its ideological needs.[9] Nonetheless, I find that Sampson's actions subsequent to her military discharge allow us to read Sampson in a different fashion, by scrutinizing how she shrewdly transformed a transgressive act that earned other women severe and humiliating punishment into a gallant, quixotic, and patriotic gesture that future writers could construe as one of feminist liberation. In the complex interplay of print and performance, in reading one against the other, we catch glimpses of Sampson's agency.

Prior to her enlistment, Sampson had been abandoned by her parents and was bound out to be raised by another family, as was typical for children whose families could not or would not support them. Whiteness alone was no guarantee of insider status in early America, as the fate of impoverished, abandoned, and unfree children illustrates. Sampson grew up a poor servant and was virtually self-educated. She was literate and loved books, but she was decidedly not learned. She lacked important social, political, or literary connections until she made them herself. Yet she proved herself to be a shrewd player in the expanding world of print in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This world of print was increasingly secular and avowedly nationalistic as well as apparently longing, at least on some level, for a living, breathing person to supplement Liberty and Columbia—the abstract and somewhat sterile goddesses who typically symbolized the new United States. Building upon her much-vaunted chastity and her military service, Sampson used the power of the printed word and her chosen interlocutors to transform her exploits from eccentric to ennobling. Her success in doing so reveals the growing power of print in post-Revolutionary culture to shape public identity and capture audience sympathies.

Crucial to Sampson's ability to shape public sentiment in her favor was her understanding of the multiple categories for and gendered nature of virtue. There is good reason to think that Sampson's secret identity during her enlistment was not entirely a secret. Certainly, Sampson's fellow soldiers noticed *something* seemed different about the new recruit "Robert Shurtliff." Herman Mann tells us in *The Female Review* that the other soldiers were prone to call Sampson the "blooming" boy and the "smock-faced boy," alluding to Sampson's lack of a beard and feminine features.[10] The nineteenth-century historian Elizabeth Ellet recounts in *The Women of the American Revolution* that Samp-

son's fellow soldiers "were in the habit of calling her 'Molly.'" Ellet naively interprets this feminine nickname to be a "playful allusion to her want of a beard."[11] "Molly," however, was widely used slang in the eighteenth century for an effeminate homosexual man.[12] Taken together, these anecdotes suggest that Sampson's fellow soldiers had some suspicion—or confusion—about the nature of Sampson's gender identification or her sexuality.

Regardless of this confusion, the unanimity of testimonials from her commanding officers praising her virtue indicates that Sampson understood the importance of balancing chastity and modesty with physical courage in order to sustain her masquerade.[13] Consequently, these testimonials reveal that Sampson understood the multivalent meanings of virtue in the Revolutionary era. As historian Ruth Bloch has persuasively argued, "virtue" had gendered meanings. Contemporary ideas of masculine virtue derived heavily from Machiavelli's understanding of *virtù*, which depended upon "active, self-sacrificial service to the state on behalf of the common good."[14] Female virtue, however, was largely dependent upon a single quality: chastity. Because of her cross-dressing, Sampson had to fulfill gendered notions of virtue as they applied to *both* men and women, which was an outstanding feat. She was successful enough in displaying these traits to earn her considerable goodwill from her fellow soldiers, regardless of their suspicions about her sexual orientation and gender identity. Her fulfillment of the dual virtues of chastity and public service—and the testimonials these qualities generated—went a long way toward mollifying American audiences who were anxious about the implications of Sampson's cross-dressing.

After her discharge from the Continental Army in 1783, Sampson lived quietly and conventionally. She initially did not attempt to capitalize on her fame, even though accounts praising her actions spread quickly in New England and New York newspapers. Her military exploits became widely known within several months of her discharge. The 10 January 1784 issue of New York's *Independent Gazette*, for example, labels her actions "an extraordinary instance of virtue in a *female soldier*" and praises her honor, "activity, alertness, chastity, and valour."[15] In this description, Sampson successfully fulfills criteria for both male and female virtue. She was brave, chaste, and dutiful. The *Boston Gazette* reprinted this account verbatim in the 9 February 1784 issue. Sampson at this point was either uninterested in capitalizing on her renown or, more likely, had not yet realized the potential financial value of such fame. She may also have feared repercussions from her gender masquerade and thus chose to lie low. We know that Sampson had already faced embarrassingly local conse-

quences after her initial enlistment in the army as "Timothy Thayer." The Third Baptist Church of Middleborough chastised and suspended Sampson in 1782. More significantly, however, Sampson likely feared prosecution for dressing as a member of the opposite sex, which was against Massachusetts law.

Consequently, within a few months after she was discharged from the army, Sampson retreated into conventional female gender roles. She married Benjamin Gannett, a farmer, in April 1785 and bore several children, living quietly all the while—until 1792. Driven by financial hardship, Sampson then sought back pay for her military service from the Massachusetts legislature.[16] Sampson succeeded in this pursuit. Mathew Carey included in the *American Museum* of that same year a sympathetic account of this legislative petition. Carey quotes a passage from the *Massachusetts Magazine*, which had also reported her petition, describing Sampson as an "extraordinary woman" who "did her duty without a stain on her virtue or honour."[17] The passages he quotes are crucial, for they suggest again a gendered conception of "virtue." By framing Sampson's actions as a "duty," Carey drew upon the important (masculine) republican concept of the citizen-soldier, which required a combination of honor, physical courage, and public service.[18] Female virtue, by contrast, is reduced to "chastity," and yet Sampson performed her duties "without a stain on her virtue," as her circumspect behavior enabled her to fulfill that cultural obligation as well.

Sampson likely realized around this time the potential for print to shape public opinion, for hereafter she actively sought to influence public opinion of her military service. T. H. Breen has suggested that common people enter into history through public opinion,[19] and certainly, this seems to be the case with Sampson. After her discharge, she could have continued to fade into obscurity, remaining only the subject of curious anecdote on the part of her fellow soldiers. But Sampson realized there was no profit in obscurity. The right kind of notoriety won Sampson her hard-earned back pay. Consequently, she vigorously sought to influence public opinion during the late 1790s, as she pursued a federal invalid pension for the battle wounds that she had sustained during the Revolutionary War.[20]

Sampson purposely brought herself before the public eye and began bolstering her credibility. Armed with her military papers and testimonials to her character from her former officers, Sampson visited Philip Freneau, editor of New York's *Time-Piece*. Recognizing Freneau as a potentially compelling spokesperson, Sampson asked for his support as she sought a federal pension by directly petitioning Congress, thereby avoiding the rigorous, convoluted application process that made it very difficult at this time for wounded soldiers

to obtain pensions. Although he did not know Sampson, Freneau undoubtedly had heard of her through his participation in the newspaper business. Prior to editing the *Time-Piece*, Freneau had written anti-British propaganda, including the poem "The British Prison Ship," as well as edited the *National Gazette* from 1791 to 1793. Published in Philadelphia, this propagandistic Democratic-Republican paper attacked Federalist policies and the political foes of James Madison and Thomas Jefferson. Newspaper editors systematically exchanged papers to broaden their news-gathering base, and the widespread practice of reprinting extracts virtually guaranteed that Freneau had heard of Sampson's exploits. Freneau's daughter reports that he was initially nonplused at meeting Sampson and viewed her as an "eccentric," especially when she began showing him her battle scars.[21] Freneau nonetheless was persuaded of her good character and the merits of her pension claim, which he reported briefly in the 1 December 1797 issue of the *Time-Piece*.

Freneau subsequently wrote a poem in her honor, "On Deborah Gannett" (Gannett was Sampson's married name), which appeared in the 4 December 1797 edition of the *Time-Piece* bearing the rather enigmatic inscription "A Soldier Should be Made of Sterner Stuff!" Freneau labels Sampson an "American heroine." Providing context for his ode, he notes that "on Tuesday last [she] presented a petition to Congress, for a pension in consideration of services rendered during the whole of the late war." Freneau addresses his ode to

> Ye Congress-men, and men of weight,
> Who fill the public chairs,
> Who many a favour have conferr'd,
> On men unknown to Mars—
> And ye, that on that lofty bench
> Decide by vote our great affairs,
> Ah, turn a calm attentive ear
> To HER, who never war did fear—
> —Relieve this gallant wench.[22]

This poem hardly represents Freneau at his poetic best. Indeed, his use of "wench" to signify the married, middle-aged Sampson suggests the gulf in social class that the Princeton-educated Freneau saw between them. Impressed by her bravery nonetheless, Freneau used his poem to strike a simultaneous blow at his political enemies by pointing to their lack of military service. Freneau might not have been Sampson's shrewdest choice from the perspective of party politics. Indeed, Alfred Young notes, Freneau "was probably the last

editor Deborah Gannett should have been associated with politically" because of his antagonistic relationship to the Federalists.[23] Nonetheless, his poem elevated Sampson's public presence and established a trail of documentary print evidence of her claims. The *Time-Piece* had a strongly nationalist bent, regularly publishing news from Congress and patriotic essays and poems on current events, especially on the topic of liberty; this nationalistic orientation likely drew Sampson's attention. Appearing in such a venue framed Sampson precisely as she wished to be viewed. Further, suggesting just how charismatic Sampson was, Freneau's daughter asserts that Freneau drafted her federal pension petition: "Though he put not his name to it, it was immediately known, as many of the members [of Congress] were his correspondents."[24]

In 1797, the same year that Sampson approached Freneau, Herman Mann published *The Female Review*, a creative biography of Sampson written by Mann with her collaboration.[25] *The Female Review* represents another variation of the as-told-to story, but it employs a highly dramatic, novelistic style. Some of the drama is invented, as Alfred Young's splendid biography of Sampson proves.[26] Despite Mann's evident discomfort with Sampson's unconventional actions—he approved of her patriotism but not the gender-bending form it took—he enthusiastically endorses her displays of masculine and feminine virtue, particularly addressing those readers who associated women involved in the military with lower-class camp followers and prostitutes. Like Freneau's poem, Mann's biography provided the patriotic backdrop that Sampson sought, and we can locate evidence of Sampson's collaboration with Mann within the text.

First, though, we should consider just how radical was the publication of a collaborative biography of a common, living woman. Captivity could happen to anyone; those who lived on the margins of American culture, both physically and metaphorically, were most likely to be taken captive. Hence, the captivity narrative was a genre readily accessible to both Briton Hammon and John Marrant, even though black men had not previously authored captivity narratives. Biography, however, was an elite, learned genre, a form of history writing dedicated to great men and women. And yet, as Mechal Sobel notes: "In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, thousands of individuals, most of them of the middling sort or poor, including many at the margins, were enjoined or volunteered to write narratives of their lives. . . . In publicly sharing their private lives, the writers were confirming both their subjectivity and their objectivity, laying claim to rights to both good values and material goods."[27] For

common people to assert the value of their lives was a "new and revolutionary [act]"—perhaps not quite as revolutionary as Sampson's pretense to be a man, but revolutionary nonetheless. Sobel points out that these stories took three forms: most were tales in which individuals "passively endured"; others saw themselves as part of a dramatic story; the smallest group saw "themselves as self-fashioners who were, to a marked degree, responsible for the direction their lives were taking."[28] Sampson's biography decidedly casts her as a self-fashioner, but one whose family history set a precedent for her bravery, daring, and nonconformity.

Crucial to Deborah Sampson's quest for celebrity is the ontological orientation of *The Female Review*, which undoubtedly owed to Sampson's influence. Throughout his biography, Mann establishes dual genealogies for Sampson, one literal and masculine and one imagined and female. In the case of the literal genealogy, Mann immediately invests Sampson with masculine authority, virtue, and legitimacy by reason of her heritage. Sampson, he tells us, was a direct descendant of William Bradford and other illustrious settlers of Plymouth, a claim he expands in the draft of his proposed second edition of *The Female Review* by establishing Sampson's relationship to other famous Pilgrims, among them John Alden and Miles Standish.[29] This genealogy is authentic, and given its prominence in the framing of her story, in such moments we see Sampson's voice at work in *The Female Review*.[30] She uses her distinctively American family genealogy to obscure the fact that she was an abandoned child. Through this name-dropping strategy, Mann identifies Sampson as the rightful heiress of the virtue of her stern—and unconventional—Pilgrim forefathers. In doing so, Mann was drawing upon several rhetorical conventions common to his day. First, he praised the greatness of the colonial forefathers, a tactic which Wesley Frank Craven and Alan Heimert have shown us was especially common beginning in the decade preceding the Revolution,[31] as the American colonies sought to establish their origins in order to imagine their futures.

Mann drew upon the popular understanding of the American Revolution as the culmination of a series of events that began with the Pilgrims' desire for religious liberty and ultimately led to political liberty.[32] To grasp the legitimating importance invested at this time by New Englanders in the Pilgrims—who were first honored in a Forefather's Day celebration in Plymouth in 1769—consider John Quincy Adams's 1802 Forefather's Day address. He calls the landing of the Pilgrims in Plymouth "the birthday of [our] nation" and compares its political legitimacy with the illegitimate origins of other nations: "No

Gothic scourge of God—No Vandal past of nations—No fabled fugitive from the flames of Troy—No bastard Norman tyrant appears among the list of worthies who first landed on the rock."[33] The "bastard Norman tyrant," referring to William the Conqueror, is a particularly nice jab at England. Clearly, Herman Mann was not the only writer given to bombast when describing the genealogy of white British America. By contrast, the Pilgrims, in Sampson's and Adams's addresses, are popularly associated with virtue, liberty, and legitimacy, conveniently overlooking their persecution of individuals who did not conform to their beliefs. In invoking Sampson's ancestry, Mann reverses the prevailing filiopietism of the day. He suggests that if readers revere the Pilgrim ancestors, they must likewise honor their worthy, legitimate descendant, Deborah Sampson.

Mann's female genealogy for Sampson is no less compelling, for his biography seeks to endorse Sampson as a worthy type of Columbia. Repeatedly, Mann establishes a matrilineal connection between Sampson and Columbia, such as when he writes, "Columbia has given her birth," or when he identifies Columbia as "her common parent."[34] Mann frequently refers to her as "Columbia's daughter" and goes so far as to call her an "orphan," even though Sampson was not, in fact, an orphan, but an abandoned child.[35] The "orphan" label, however, further emphasizes Sampson's purity as the progeny of the virginal Columbia, herself the orphaned daughter of England and hence inheritor of an unsullied female lineage—a lineage equally as compelling as the competing masculine Pilgrim lineage that *The Female Review* likewise claims for her.

Traces of Sampson's influence in shaping her overall image as it emerges from *The Female Review* can also be seen in the engraving of the painting by Joseph Stone that accompanies Mann's biography of Sampson.[36] Although Stone was not a portrait painter to the elite, his portrait merits consideration for the appealing and evocative manner in which it depicts her. Typical of the Federal era, the portrait presents us with a bust-length image.[37] One might imagine that Sampson would appear in her warrior guise, for by the time she sought her back pay and a federal pension, the image of the female warrior was increasingly common in American life.[38] The story of Hannah Snell and the Anglo-American warrior ballads that Dianne Dugaw discusses in *Women Warriors and Popular Balladry, 1650–1850* certainly had an impact in shaping Americans' views of the martial woman. Likewise, the female survivors of innumerable captivity narratives, especially Massachusetts's own Hannah Dustin, also

Frontispiece of the Dedham, Massachusetts, edition of *The Female Review* (1797). The engraving of Sampson by George Graham was based on a portrait by Joseph Stone. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

undoubtedly helped shape the nation's sense of female bravery and virtue in the face of adversity. Yet Sampson's image is radically and patriotically different from the images depicting female warriors or captives.

Sampson herself does not appear martial at all in her portrait; instead, she is a humanized version of the chaste goddesses Liberty and Columbia. In the engraving, her image appears inside an oval portrait surrounded by American emblems. At the bottom of the engraving, an eagle with spread wings supports the oval portrait. Balanced against the bird's breast is a shield decorated with stars and stripes. Ornamenting the top of the oval portrait are four flags, a gun stock, a drum, a sword, and a wreath. By 1797, these were stock symbols that had come to be associated with the United States and, according to John Higham, frequently were used in conjunction with the goddess Liberty to make her less abstract and more concretely representative of the United States.[39] In this case, the objects inform us about Sampson, conveying her military experiences by association, rather than appearing as part of the narrative of her portrait.

By surrounding herself with militaristic images but adopting a modest, feminine pose, Sampson once again fulfilled the ideals of both masculine and feminine virtue. In exploring how the iconography symbolizing America evolved over the course of the eighteenth century, Higham tells us that Europeans typically represented America as an Indian maiden or princess, often bare breasted. By the time of the Revolution, Anglo-Americans altered this female figure, initially, to represent abstractly the classical goddess Liberty and, later, to stand specifically for Columbia.[40] In the years leading up to the Revolution, these images frequently appeared as victimized female figures: chained or mutilated goddesses, surrounded by leering or indifferent male figures representing Britain. Of these kinds of images, Betsy Erkkila has remarked that "by identifying the revolutionary and republican cause with women, including Indian and enslaved women, these emotionally charged images could—and did—have the effect of soliciting women to imagine and act on a revolutionary vision of themselves as historical actors and makers on the stage of the world."[41] Sampson was not simply a consumer of the visual iconography associated with Columbia but was inspired by it and contributed to its representation. Acting on this iconography, however, necessitated that Sampson be circumspect in controlling her own image.

The image of Sampson that appears in *The Female Review* draws upon the familiar female iconography symbolized by the chaste goddesses Liberty and Columbia, with one striking exception: whereas Liberty is frequently imagined as bare breasted or at least bare armed, Sampson is dressed quite modestly, relative to fashion of the time, in a dress with long sleeves in what was commonly called "Grecian" style, even though it bore little resemblance to what Greek females wore during the classical era.[42] The heavy pleating of her dress, emphasized by the youthful, high-waisted sash, evokes the draped robes of the goddesses. Sampson displays no visible décolletage, a fact especially notable relative to portraits of elite women at the time, such as those of Dolley Madison or Louisa Catherine Adams. Sampson's dress is made even more conspicuously modest by the arrangement of a scarf or neckerchief, while the beads around her neck are reminiscent of the necklaces of gold beads that were fashionable at the time.[43] Sampson's hairstyle, a mixture of fashionable, frizzed curls around her face, with very long hair flowing unfashionably down her back, once again suggests an Americanized Columbia and likewise emphasizes her femininity and youthfulness. As Caroline Winterer notes in *The Mirror of Antiquity*, the Grecian robe and accompanying hairstyle and jewelry were styles widely available to and adopted by women of all classes.[44] As a white woman, even one

from the lower classes, Sampson could avail herself of such iconic imagery in a way that it was not available to Phillis Wheatley, who likewise considered herself a patriot. Wheatley's engraving is even more modest than Sampson's, suggesting the kind of constraints adopted by, or imposed on, female outsiders who came before the public eye. The extent to which we can credit Deborah Sampson for her portrait presentation and its accompanying martial imagery is unclear, but certainly the clothing, jewelry, and hairstyle selected to portray her womanly virtues contributed to the overall tone and visual presentation of seriousness, femininity, modesty, respectability, and patriotism.[45]

As Sampson's interactions with Philip Freneau, Herman Mann, and Joseph Stone reveal, rather than speak publicly for herself, Sampson judiciously but aggressively sought the sympathy and approval of powerful men and then used them as interlocutors for herself in the public sphere. There is a pattern to this behavior, a deliberate pursuit of sponsorship. Her sponsors were men who understood the power of print and image to shape public opinion. Testimonials, letters, poems, paintings, engravings, and biographical writings from the illustrious validated Sampson's career and gave her actions the imprimatur of respectability and honor.

Frequently, Sampson's intermediaries were former military men who provided testimonials of her character or smoothed her entry into public life. As Sampson notes throughout her diary, which she kept during her 1802 speaking tour of New York and New England, she purposely connected with her former commanding officers and other officers with whom she had become acquainted during her military service. At the end of her diary, she again records the names and addresses of all those with whom she stayed. Some of these men had been subscribers to Mann's *The Female Review*. The preponderance of military titles in both her diary and her speech is striking. Clearly, she valued her fellow soldiers' continued goodwill. They made excellent sponsors, possessing the kind of social and cultural capital to which she aspired. In addition to providing her with safe, respectable accommodations, these military men also introduced Sampson to local people of note and assisted her in obtaining venues for her oration and military drill.[46] Armed with letters of reference to validate her experiences as a soldier and her good character, Sampson was also quick to take advantage of new acquaintances. While taking the stage from Dedham, Massachusetts, to Providence, Rhode Island, for example, she met Mr. and Mrs. William Billings, who invited her to tea and introduced her to a Mr. Wheler, who printed her theatrical bill, distributed it around town, and arranged for her to perform in Mr. Amidon's Hall.[47] Clearly, in addition to being a curiosity and

an exotic, like Phillis Wheatley, Sampson had a charismatic presence, a persuasive manner, and a keen sense of how to use print to market herself.

Sampson's assertiveness in approaching these distinguished men—like her willingness to network with new acquaintances—renders absurd Herman Mann's conventionally feminine description in *The Female Review*'s preface of Sampson as an individual of "extreme *modesty* and trembling *diffidence*."[48] Given Sampson's military record, Mann's description is so far off the mark as to be laughable. However, Mann's objective in collaborating with Sampson on her biography appears to have been less to produce a factually accurate biography than to reconcile Sampson's actions with his own understanding of contemporary gender roles while, at the same time, actively supporting her bid for a federal pension and producing a text that readers would avidly consume. Mann was, after all, a printer. While not historically accurate, Mann's description reimagines Sampson in a way that contemporary audiences would have found more conventionally appealing.[49] One need look no farther for proof of this appeal than the sales figures of *The Female Review*, which quickly sold a respectable fifteen hundred copies.[50] This figure is several times larger than the typical number of copies sold of most contemporaneous American novels. Sampson appears not to have objected overmuch to the creative liberties Mann took with her character and life experiences, for she agreed to the publication of a revised and expanded edition of *The Female Review*, on the condition that it not appear until after her death.[51] While she appreciated the fame *The Female Review* had brought her, she probably wanted to be taken more seriously as she continued to pursue a federal pension.

In addition to Sampson's well-publicized chastity, her use of male intermediaries in the public sphere, and her understanding of the importance of print in shaping public opinion, one final factor helped her transform her transgressive adventure as a female soldier into an ennobling, patriotic act. That factor is her clear understanding of the performative nature of gender roles in the culture of the early Republic and indeed her multivalent performances of gender itself within the context of the oration she delivered on her 1802 speaking tour. More clearly than any other event or document, Sampson's speech and the military drill that she performed indicate her understanding of the performative nature of gender roles. Ironically, while Sampson once again violated Anglo-American gender roles in wearing military garb and speaking to mixed audiences—she was the first American woman ever to go on such a speaking tour[52]—the oration itself allowed Sampson to indicate her understanding and acceptance of conventional American gender roles.

The oration that Sampson delivered was the result of a second collaboration between Sampson and Herman Mann. In 1802, Sampson was in dire financial straits. While she had been awarded her back pay, she was still in pursuit of a federal pension for her war injuries, and she was seeking additional sources of income to supplement the meager profits from the family farm. *An Addr[e]ss Delivered with Applause* was published under the name "Mrs. Deborah Gannet" (sic), and described as "printed and sold by H. Mann for Mrs. Gannet." Judith Hiltner convincingly argues that Mann largely authored the twenty-nine-page address,[53] which Sampson first delivered while in uniform at the Federal Street Theatre in Boston in 1802. Sampson later delivered this address while on tour in New England and New York off and on over a period of fifteen months. However, while Hiltner is primarily concerned with how Mann used Sampson and her experiences to promote his own ideological agenda, I am more interested in understanding the implications of Sampson's cooperation with Mann, as this collaborative relationship enabled her to further her goal of earning a federal pension. That is, parsing the authorship of the *Address* is less significant, for my purposes, than the fact that it was Sampson who delivered these lines on stage in front of hundreds of people. Further, it was Sampson who traveled alone to strange cities throughout New York and New England, arranging accommodations for herself and venues for her performances. These events confirm our understanding that the relationship between Mann and Sampson was truly collaborative and that Sampson was always an active, energetic partner in this collaboration—maybe even its driving force.

Sampson's oration, combined with her dress and performance of a Manual of Arms, which was a military training exercise,[54] must have presented a strange mixture of physical bravado and sentimental contriteness to her audience, as she once again presented herself as fulfilling both masculine and feminine virtues. While she appeared in uniform and exhibited her military prowess, her address continually defers to the sensibilities of the ladies in her audience, telling them that her actions were "an error and a presumption."[55] As she affirmed American gender expectations for white women, she simultaneously destabilized them, revealing, among other things, that feminine sensibility was not innate but cultivated and enabled by refinement. She anticipates that what she will tell them of her experiences will be "wounding to the ear of more refined delicacy and taste" and guaranteed to "ring discord in the ear, and disgust to the bosom of sensibility and refinement."[56] Sampson understood that, to her audiences, she registered as a woman of the lower classes. She was literate but not learned; she had transgressed gendered expectations; and she performed

publicly for money. In short, she had sold her rights to the delicacy that she had never been privileged enough to possess. Sampson's words vividly register these class differences.

Yet while acknowledging that her actions were a "breach in the decorum of my sex," Sampson at the same time aligns her actions, which she describes as "burst[ing] the tyrant bands, which *held my sex in awe*," with the American colonial struggle against the tyrant Britain.[57] Using the language of natural rights, Sampson argues that Britain's subjugation of the colonies is "unnatural," "unjust, inhuman, in their operations."[58] In turn, she contends that her assumption of the soldier's role was a "natural privilege" of the patriotic individual. Only this ardent patriotism, she claims, led her to "throw off the soft habiliments of *my sex*, and assume those of the *warrior*, already prepared for battle."[59] In this sense, Sampson's justification of her actions fits the paradigm of the "transvestite's progress" that Marjorie B. Garber outlines, whereby early narratives of cross-dressing are invariably rationalized by some urgent, but temporary, expedient.[60] As the *Address* frames her actions, Sampson dressed as a man not because she desired to do so but because her natural right to perform her duty to her country demanded it. Discharging her patriotic duty *required* that she sacrifice her delicacy but maintain her chastity.

The wild fluctuations in this oration, which vacillates from penitential confession of error to defense of women's right to patriotism, register Sampson's need to fulfill multiple goals: "the need to authenticate and justify her military experience at the same time she attested to her feminine virtue."[61] Although her oration is filled with rhetorical contradictions, the combination of the *Address* and the military drill as a whole does fulfill those objectives. The *Address* thus bolstered Sampson's reputation among her supporters and those who might have questioned both her story and her actions.

There is yet another fruitful way to understand Sampson's *Address*, and that is through the metaphor of the theater and the idea of performance. As Jean-Christophe Agnew and Jeffrey H. Richards have argued, the *theatrum mundi*, or world as a stage, was a central metaphor in eighteenth-century Anglo-American thought.[62] The metaphor of *theatrum mundi* assumed special significance during the Revolutionary War, as Richards further argued, with Anglo-America consistently described as a "Theatre of Action." Extending this analogy to Sampson's situation allows us to understand her actions in another light. If the war were imagined and the individual soldiers were actors, then Sampson's cross-dressing could be understood as mere performance—as a guise through which to enact patriotism under exigent circumstances—rather

	Words of Command.	No. of Motions.	Explanation
4	*Fire!*	1	Pull the Tricker briſkly, and immediately after bringing up the Right-Foot, come to the Priming Poſition, with the Lock oppoſite to the Right Breaſt, the Muzzle the Height of the Hat, keeping it firm and ſteady, and at the ſame Time ſeize the Cock with the Fore-Finger and Thumb of the Right-Hand, the Back of the Hand turn'd up,
5	*Half-Cock your Firelocks!*	1	Half-bend the Cock briſkly with a Draw-back of the Right Elbow, bringing it cloſe to the Butt of the Firelock.
6	*Handle your Cartridge!*	1	Bring your Right-Hand with a ſhort Round to your Pouch, ſlapping it hard; ſeize the Cartridge, and bring it with a quick Motion to your Mouth, bite the Top well off and bring the Hand as low as the Chin, with the Elbow down.
7	*Prime!*	1	Shake the Powder into the Pan, placing the three laſt Fingers behind the Hammer, with the Elbow up.
8	*Shut your Pans!*	2	1ſt. Shut your Pan briſkly, drawing your Right-Arm at this Motion towards your Body, holding the Cartridge faſt in your Hand, as in the former Poſition. 2d. Turn the Piece nimbly round to the Loading Poſition, with the Lock to the Front and the Muzzle the Height of the Chin, bringing the Right-Hand behind the Muzzle; both Feet kept faſt in this Motion.
9	*Charge with Cartridge!*	2	1ſt. Turn up your Hand and put the Cartridge into the Muzzle, ſhaking the Powder into the Barrel. 2d. Place your Hand, cloſed, with a quick and ſtrong Motion, upon the Rammer.

1ſt, Draw

An excerpt from *The Manual Exercise* (Boston, 1776), describing maneuvers similar to those that Deborah Sampson would have demonstrated during her public performances in 1802–3. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

than the usurpation of masculine privilege. Indeed, the language of Sampson's oration emphasizes this analogy. "Thus," she tells us in her oration, "I became an actor in that important drama, with an inflexible resolution to persevere through the last scene."[63]

The metaphors of theater and actor offered a slightly more conventional fashion for Sampson to reimagine and repackage an unconventional series of behaviors. For, like an actor, after the closing of the final scene of war, Sampson threw off her masculine habiliments and largely resumed the dress and behavior expected of women in her era, persuading men to write and speak for her or, in the case of her oration, to put words in her mouth. Mann's publication of her *Address* further served her purpose. There is no concrete evidence that Sampson herself ever authored words expressing sorrow, shame, or regret for her actions—not in her petitions, her private diary, or her two extant letters. In fact, excepting the low spirits she experienced as a consequence of illness, her diary is positively gleeful over her public renown and the kindnesses shown to her by individuals of more privileged status. How, then, should we understand the contrition that Sampson expresses in her oration? I see it as yet another strategic choice, yet another gender performance, but a reclamation this time of the female modesty that she had surrendered during her masquerade.

Sampson's careful accounting in her diary indicates that she embarked on this speaking tour because she badly needed the money her performances would generate. Undoubtedly, a second motivation was to build her case for a federal pension. It was crucial, then, that she be well received by her audiences. From all indications, while she was less financially successful than she would have liked—illness on numerous occasions prevented her from performing and forced her to pay for accommodations in various towns for weeks at a time—she successfully gained the sympathy of her audience. Sampson favorably recalls the "Serious attention and peculiar Respect" she received, especially from "the Ladies."[64] Another time, she describes her audience as "an handsome audience of Gentlemen and Ladies,"[65] with their polite reception of her performance signaling their gentility and acceptance of her explanation for her actions. Sampson knew her case was singular. She was not an ordinary soldier who fought in the American Revolution; she was "female heroism" embodied. As a woman from the lower classes, she was acutely aware of the importance of gaining the sympathy and approval of the bourgeois genteel, as she sought approval of her pension from yet another echelon of the elite, the politically powerful.

Sampson was awarded a military pension on 11 March 1805, retroactive to 1 January 1803, which she received until her death. In 1837, when her widowed husband, Benjamin Gannett, sought a federal pension for himself as the surviving spouse of a war veteran, the Honorable William Ellis described Deborah Sampson in a letter to the Honorable Peter Force as having the conversational style of "the able diplomatist."[66] Diplomatic indeed describes Sampson's careful negotiation of gender roles during her speaking tour. She must have been a mesmerizing, charismatic rhetor to have persuaded so many men to take up her cause. By successfully concealing her sex, rigidly maintaining her chastity, and fulfilling dual conceptions of virtue during her military service, Deborah Sampson succeeded in her masquerade where Ann Bailey and the anonymous woman from New Jersey failed. Yet the public accolades Sampson subsequently received from Herman Mann, Philip Freneau, and her former commanding officers, and later (in 1804) from Paul Revere, stemmed from more than mere chastity.

An avid reader, Sampson understood the power of the printed word and image. She faced an array of choices in the post-Revolutionary era as she sought simultaneously to vindicate herself and to receive back pay and the invalid pension that she believed she had earned. She could be silent. She could write and speak for herself, as she was perfectly capable of doing. Or, she could pursue a third course. Demonstrating her grasp of the gender dynamics of the public sphere, she chose *not* to write and speak for herself, actions that would have emphasized once again precisely how she had violated cultural ideals of femininity. Instead, she assiduously sought out the approval of white men who wielded power in a variety of cultural venues, as newspaper editors, writers, publishers, printers, military officers, and politicians. She used them as intermediaries to make her case in the public world of letters—a world in which she was merely an actor in the drama of revolution, a live stand-in for the distant, idealized goddess of Liberty. Her use of intermediaries and amanuenses gained her the publicity she sought, sanctioned by powerful white men. The pleasure she gained from her masquerade, which we can catch only in glimpses in her diary, remained private.

Although her campaign was a long one, the fact that Sampson was eventually awarded a federal pension for her injuries attests to the efficacy of her strategy. Sampson wonderfully illustrates that participation in print culture by outsiders did not require individual authorship. Collaboration could be active and compelling, probably even more so, in Sampson's case, than individual au-

thorship. Indeed, for the outsider, collaboration was often the rule, rather than the exception. Disparate levels of literacy in any collaboration did not necessarily entail subordination on the part of the less literate collaborator. The life record of Deborah Sampson and the documentary evidence that records her adventures illustrate how even a poor and powerless white woman from the lower class could use print culture to shape public interpretation of her exploits.

Chapter 5

"To Proceed with Spirit"

Clementina Rind and the *Virginia Gazette*

The desperate financial need motivating Deborah Sampson and so many other hopeful participants in late eighteenth-century print is poignant, especially given our hindsight that it would be difficult for Americans to profit, much less make a living, as writers until at least the 1810s. Clementina Rind, printer of Thomas Jefferson's *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* (1774), holder of the contract for public printing in Virginia, and, most important for my purposes, editor of Williamsburg's *Virginia Gazette* from 1773 to 1774, was a rare exception to this rule, although even she labored under debt throughout her tenure as editor. While profiting modestly from her own writing, editing, and printing, Rind also created a virtuous, public space for women as authors, editors, and readers.

Printer-publishers, unlike so many of their compatriots who aspired to make money from their writing, were better positioned to do so, especially if they published a newspaper, but even they faced significant economic challenges.[1] While most local printers in the decades immediately before and after the Revolutionary War were educated, they were definitely not from society's elite ranks. Rather, they were tradespeople, men who had served apprenticeships and risen to become master printers, able to open their own shops by entering into partnerships, relying on the assistance of family or patrons, or borrowing money. Indeed, Rind herself mortgaged her "best bed," pillowcases, and a fish kettle to buy new type.[2] By indenturing apprentices to printers belonging to the same extended family or partnerships, colonial printers created intricate webs of relationships that stretched the length of the Atlantic seaboard. Through hard work, shrewd business sense, and luck, a few printers rose to influential positions, as did eighteenth-century printers Benjamin Franklin and Isaiah Thomas. Later, Joseph T. Buckingham and Benjamin Russell transformed themselves through the engine of the artisan societies, as discussed in

the next chapter. However, high material costs and the relative scarcity of cash caused many printing businesses, even those with a strong customer base, to struggle financially in both the pre-Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary eras. Heavy taxes before the Revolution, especially the Stamp and Townsend Acts, which taxed paper and printed materials, exacerbated these problems.[3]

Because printing was not only a trade to which one could be apprenticed formally but also a family business, women occasionally inherited print shops upon the deaths of their fathers or husbands. The wives of printers tended to be from similar backgrounds and were likely themselves to be printers' daughters or sisters. An inheritance might include not only the physical print apparatus, but also printing contracts for government documents and other obligations, such as almanacs and newspapers.[4] This pattern of inheritance held true in both the northern and southern colonies, where productive presses were deemed too necessary to the public good to allow the sex of a reliable printer-publisher to become a significant distraction. This exigency offers a unique opportunity to explore how nonelite women participated directly in print practices.

It is no coincidence that a majority of the figures in this study resided at least for a time in Massachusetts, which had higher literacy rates and a higher concentration of presses than any other colony. The sheer number of presses gave northern writers increased publication options. Literacy rates and the number of public schools, printing presses, and newspapers all lagged in the South, exacerbated by a widely scattered and largely rural population that rendered the New England system of public schooling unworkable. These features of southern life exerted a mutually dampening effect on literacy and textual production.

Examining a newspaper edited, composed, published, and printed by a southern woman offers a way around some of these challenges to textual production, while simultaneously presenting the opportunity to explore the submission of free content to newspapers, a question taken up only briefly in the opening chapter of *Empowering Words*. The experience of Clementina Rind, who in 1773 inherited a Williamsburg print shop and the *Virginia Gazette* from her husband, William Rind, offers an especially rich opportunity to explore how women outside the elite participated in print. Being a newspaper editor was no sinecure. Rather, it was a profession she embraced in a politically charged era.[5] The dominant, compelling narrative that emerges in colonial newspapers in 1773 and 1774—the brief time during which Clementina Rind edited the *Virginia Gazette*—is that of the deepening rift between the colonies and Great Britain. The Revolutionary narrative certainly plays a tremendous role in

her evolution as an editor, and indeed her story cannot be entirely separated from it, but that narrative has been chronicled many times. What lies behind this revolutionary story—the individual evolution of Rind as an editor and printer—is intriguing in its own right. Prior to the death of William Rind, Clementina would have been best known as his wife. How did a private woman transform herself into that most public of figures, the town's editor and printer, while maintaining a virtuous, respectable reputation? Unlike Phillis Wheatley or Deborah Sampson, Clementina Rind did not seek public renown, a fact she emphasizes in her open letters to her subscribers, but neither did she shrink from it when the opportunity arose. Her principled, ethical navigation of the troubled political waters of Virginia offers us one clue as to how an outsider like Rind could succeed in such a difficult position, while her articulations of editorial policy expand our understanding of what it meant to be an editor in the eighteenth century. Above all, Rind persuasively demonstrated that she and her paper were useful, a quality that apparently overrode gender considerations.

The editorial practices common to colonial printers render glimpses of Clementina Rind's activities frustratingly elusive at times, but by reading all the newspapers she published during her tenure as editor, we can gain an understanding of the community importance of the printer—regardless of sex. To discover the writer behind the editor, we need to consider the multitudinous tasks of editing a colonial newspaper *as a form of writing*. Rind's body of journalistic work enables us to embrace a more capacious understanding of authorship in early America, for newspaper editing was a form of authorship that was collaborative, intertextual, and usually, but not always, filtered through a distant, dignified editorial persona. Rind maintained an extensive intercolonial and international correspondence to gather news, selected the news to be printed, sought and refereed individual contributions to the paper, wrote obituaries and advertisements, and kept the town's secrets. If knowledge is power, Clementina Rind was the most powerful woman in colonial Virginia.

As Rind's grasp of the newspaper business expanded, she gradually changed the paper's style and appearance. Her editorial style evolved from a format that consisted largely of a continuous narrative composed of interwoven extracts and letters into one that highlighted individual contributions and voices. At the same time, she claimed ownership of the paper by adding her name to the masthead and replacing the device that had traditionally appeared on colonial Virginia papers—the colony's seal—with a new design of her choice, changes signaling her intellectual, financial, and emotional investment in the newspaper business. Although it may not have been her immediate and expressed goal,

Rind also created a dignified space for women as editors, writers, and readers in public discourse.

Before discussing Clementina and the Rind family further, however, it is useful to situate her in the context of other eighteenth-century female printers. The wives and daughters of master printers frequently had little separation between their domestic lives and their family's labor. Inheriting a press became for them a means to the end of economic survival, which shaped their motivation for their literary activities. While Phillis Wheatley and Deborah Sampson hoped for profit from their writings, they also labored toward a variety of other extrinsic rewards from publishing, including renown, respectability, aesthetic pleasure, the establishment of social relationships, and the expression of grief. For Clementina Rind and other eighteenth-century printers, writing, editing, and printing were vocational; profitability had to become their foremost goal, although as we see with Rind, she believed her editorial integrity was crucial to the economic success of her printing enterprise. Taken together, the works of Wheatley, Sampson, Rind, and her sister printers provide a broad overview of the genres and mediums in which women outside elite circles published in the late eighteenth century and their motivations for doing so.

Female Printers in Early America

It would be an overstatement to say that female printers and newspapers editors were common in eighteenth-century America, and yet they were not *uncommon*. The more one studies eighteenth-century printing practices, the more women emerge from the background. Like other small businesses in the eighteenth century, print shops were truly family enterprises.[6] Apprentices were likely to be family members, especially sons, nephews, and cousins. Wives and daughters were also involved in the business end of the print shop surprisingly frequently. They worked alongside family members—often as compositors, given that women's smaller hands made them adept at setting type—or handled financial transactions and records for the print shop. Leona M. Hudak's *Early American Women Printers and Publishers* lists twenty-five women who ran print shops between 1639 and 1820; there's considerable overlap between Hudak's list and Clarence S. Brigham's list of thirty-two women who published newspapers between 1700 and 1820, given that newspaper publishing was one way that printers expanded their businesses.[7] The most common means by which women came to run print shops and edit newspapers was through inheritance,

when widowed women or adult daughters took over their deceased husband's or father's businesses. Some widows maintained their husbands' presses for just a few short months or a year, often with the assistance of a partner or senior apprentice, until they were able to sell out to another printer. Other women, however, managed print shops for several years, until their sons grew to adulthood and were able to take over the business or until they themselves died. For most, print represented their livelihood; they were forced by necessity to manage the family business. Those who were most successful tended to be already knowledgeable about the business.

For a few women, printing and publishing became a true vocation, and they maintained printing businesses over the long term. One of the more interesting examples of this phenomenon is Ann Smith Franklin of Newport, Rhode Island, who married James Franklin, the older brother to whom Benjamin Franklin had been apprenticed as a youth. Ann Franklin took over her husband's shop after he died in 1734, and she maintained an active role in the business until her death in 1763. Ann likely worked alongside James after he relocated his printing business from Boston to Newport, thereby gaining the skills necessary to run the business successfully. James's death left Ann with four surviving children to support, and her children came to work alongside her in the print shop. After the only son, James Jr., completed an apprenticeship with his uncle Benjamin in Philadelphia, he joined her as a partner in 1748.[8] Ann must have enjoyed her success as a printer, however, for she continued working in the business for the rest of her life. By all accounts, she was quite successful: she continued to hold the colony's governmental printing contract, she continued to publish the *Rhode Island Almanack* that her husband had created, and, in hopes of increasing profits, she expanded the kinds of texts that the shop published.

Likewise notable for its longevity in the printing business is the Timothy family of Charleston, where control of the press passed from Louis Timothée (later Anglicized to Timothy) to his widow, Elizabeth Timothy. Elizabeth ran the press from 1738 to 1746 and took over the publication of the *Gazette*, before passing it on to their son, Peter Timothy. Upon the death of Peter Timothy, his widow, Ann Donovan Timothy, ran the press from 1782 to 1792. Like the Franklins of Rhode Island, the Timothy family was connected to Benjamin Franklin's print shop through both Louis Timothy's apprenticeship to him and later business partnerships. Franklin wrote in his *Autobiography* that he preferred dealing with Elizabeth Timothy rather than her husband, Louis, because Louis was "ignorant in Matters of Account." Elizabeth, on the other hand, "not

only sent me [Franklin] as clear a State as she could find of the Transactions past, but continu'd to account with the greatest Regularity & Exactitude every Quarter afterwards; and manag'd the Business with such Success that she not only brought up reputably a Family of Children, but at the Expiration of the Term was able to purchase of me the Printing-House and establish her Son in it."[9] Franklin relates this episode, he tells us, because he thought accounting was more likely to be useful to young women, especially those widowed, "than either Music or Dancing, by preserving them from Losses by Imposition of crafty Men, and enabling them to continue perhaps a profitable mercantile House with establish'd Correspondence, till a Son is grown up fit to undertake and go on with it, to the lasting Advantage and enriching of the Family."[10] Although he saw men as the default business owners and entrepreneurs, he pragmatically acknowledged that many women would be forced to support themselves and their children; they needed practical learning in order to do so. This was precisely the situation Ann Franklin and the Timothy women faced. While Benjamin Franklin exerted a long-distance but supportive and stabilizing influence on both businesses, the dynastic success of their family printing businesses depended on extended periods of wise and well-trained female leadership.

Not all female printers enjoyed such a strong support network. Unlike the Franklin and Timothy women, Jane Aitken of Philadelphia had only minimal family assistance. She inherited her father's press, running it with negligible assistance from a wastrel brother from 1796 through at least 1817 and perhaps later. It was Jane Aitken who printed Rebecca Rush's novel *Kelroy* (1812), along with religious texts and musical scores.

As these examples illustrate, a few women did work as printers, publishers, and editors, and they competed successfully for government printing contracts, which were highly prized and helped ensure a press's financial solvency.[11] As a rule, however, familial connections to the printing business enabled women to gain the technical expertise necessary to run a printing shop in an era in which such knowledge was controlled by master craftsmen and delivered via the apprentice system.[12] That these women were literate enough to labor as printers, before the rise of women's seminaries in the early national period and in families that would not have been inclined or able to afford private tutors, indicates the pervasiveness of autodidactism among the family members of printers, some of whom clearly took advantage of the rich opportunities for reading that their family businesses offered. Likely, a small but intriguing cohort of self-educated women thrived among the wives and daughters of colonial printers; their reading and writing habits have yet to be studied.

The Rind Family of Printers

Clementina Rind of Williamsburg, Virginia, did not enjoy the longevity of some of her sister printers—she died in September 1774, just thirteen months after taking over her husband's press. Rind's continuation of both the printing house and the *Virginia Gazette* newspaper after her husband's death, however, demonstrates how a woman might navigate the complicated political and gender issues that infused this kind of public discourse and exemplifies how a woman might profit from her editorial and literary work. In this sense, Rind and her sister editors were early forerunners of such nineteenth-century editorial luminaries as Lydia Maria Child and Sarah Josepha Hale, as well as a host of lesser-known female periodical editors numbering, by Patricia Okker's account, more than six hundred over the course of the nineteenth century.[13] However, the combination of rigorous physical and intellectual labor required of the eighteenth-century female printer-publisher has been overshadowed by the more circumscribed and potentially decorous role of women editors in the nineteenth century. The intellectual elite, such as Margaret Fuller, could edit a literary periodical such as the *Dial* and maintain their gentility. In fact, writers such as Fanny Fern felt compelled to protest that writing was, in fact, labor.[14] Eighteenth-century Americans understood that running a print shop and publishing a paper was labor. Printers were tradespeople; they were decidedly not genteel. Studying early women newspaper editors enables us to capture both the physical and the intellectual labor required of the printer-publisher.

Although the literary aspects of Rind's work have not previously been studied, she has become moderately well known as a historical figure primarily through two circumstances. Rind published the first edition of Thomas Jefferson's *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* (1774), which articulated the most lucid and compelling explanation of the rights of the colonies prior to the Declaration of Independence. *A Summary View* led to Jefferson's being asked to draft the Declaration as a member of the Committee of Five, which included John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert Livingston. Jefferson was also part of a group that had brought William Rind from Annapolis to Williamsburg; Clementina's publication of *A Summary View* suggests that Jefferson maintained a connection with the Rinds. Another circumstance that brought Clementina Rind to the general public's attention is Colonial Williamsburg's reenactment of her as a historical figure in the print shop—a reenactment that astonishes visitors who are unaware that many women worked in trades in the eighteenth century.[15]

And yet from a literary perspective, Rind tends to be recognized only col-

lectively, as part of that small group of eighteenth-century women printers, or as continuing her husband's Whig politics. In part, this narrow focus results from the tantalizing, limited glimpses we catch of Rind. The *Virginia Gazette* itself appears as fait accompli, as was typical of eighteenth-century newspapers, for the actual work of editing hid the hand of the editor. That is to say, the selection and compilation of news items, the solicitation of letters and essays from local residents, the writing of advertisements, notices, and obituaries, and the editing required to make sure that all of these items were clearly written and spelled properly were all forms of labor that were obscured by the final, polished product. We notice them only in their absence. This end product was indeed polished, for Rind was meticulous in producing a cleanly edited, clearly printed paper. Further, she did not reserve a regular editorial space for self-expression, and she spoke directly to readers only occasionally and discreetly. The literary aspects of her editorial work and the ways in which she encouraged local productions and an intercolonial perspective, both by reprinting women's work from other papers and by opening up a space for women as readers, business people, and political agents, beg to be explored, as does her keen sense of humor, which is evidenced by various advertisements and stories she ran and the fashion in which she framed the more ridiculous submissions.

Rind came to run a printing house by being widowed, the same circumstance that forced—or enabled—most other female printers to run their own shops. Early in their marriage, William Rind owned a circulating library and was a printer in partnership with Jonas Green in Annapolis, where they published the *Maryland Gazette*. Although we know little about Clementina's life before she moved to Williamsburg, it seems likely she would have helped William with both the printing business and the circulating library, thus enjoying broad opportunities for reading that would have been rare among women outside elite circles—except for the wives and daughters of printers and booksellers. In fact, Clementina probably worked alongside Jonas Green's wife, Anne Catharine Green. In 1767, after the death of Jonas, Anne took over the running of his press, which she continued with the assistance of her sons until her own death in 1774. She succeeded her husband in winning repeatedly the contract for public printing.[16] That both Jonas Green's widow and William Rind's widow were able to edit newspapers and run printing presses hints that they had considerable experience in assisting with both enterprises and were likewise well acquainted with the increasingly heated colonial politics that affected the partnership's business. In protest over the Stamp Act, Jonas Green and William Rind suspended the *Maryland Gazette* in 1765.

William Rind then relocated to Williamsburg, Virginia, at the express invitation of Thomas Jefferson, who sought to establish a counterbalance to the existing press, run by Alexander Purdie and John Dixon (Purdie and Dixon also published a newspaper named the *Virginia Gazette* and at that time held the contract for printing government documents). Because of this contract, Purdie and Dixon were circumspect in reporting the local news, particularly opposition to the Stamp Act. In an 1809 letter to Isaiah Thomas, Jefferson explained: "Until the beginning of our revolutionary disputes, we had but one press, and that having the whole business of the government, and no competitor for public favor, nothing disagreeable to the governor could be got into it. We procured Rind to come from Maryland to publish a free paper."[17] Heavy reliance on the patronage of colonial governments was common among southern newspapers, as Robert M. Weir notes.[18] Smaller urban populations meant fewer newspaper subscribers and, even worse, fewer advertisers, for late eighteenth-century newspapers depended heavily on advertising. Consequently, government patronage continued to play an outsize role for southern papers.

William and Clementina Rind moved to Williamsburg early in 1766, where he soon published the first edition of *Rind's Virginia Gazette*, initially using his name to distinguish his paper from Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*. Rind's borrowing of the name *Virginia Gazette* represents not a failure of the imagination but political pragmatism. As David A. Copeland explains: "The Virginia House of Burgesses . . . decreed that all official printing in the colony would be done by the *Virginia Gazette*. For that reason, every newspaper in colonial Virginia was named the *Virginia Gazette*, and there were three *Gazettes* in Williamsburg in 1775 and another in near-by Norfolk."[19] By naming their individual papers *Virginia Gazette*, printers made themselves eligible to win the lucrative contract for government printing, which regularly changed hands. Despite the similar names, Rind quickly sought to differentiate his paper from Purdie and Dixon's paper, including this motto on the masthead: "Open to ALL PARTIES, but influenced by NONE."

Rind won the next contract for public printing, and thereafter he printed the proceedings, laws, and proclamations of the House of Burgesses and was by all accounts a successful businessman. Although Rind died in debt, in addition to his printing presses, his estate included a number of costly household items, among them several mahogany tables, twelve mahogany chairs, and china. While this material abundance might seem surprising in the home of a master craftsman (one thinks here of Benjamin Franklin's admitted abstemiousness within his own household), the economic structure of Virginia offers at least a

partial explanation. The primary Virginia export was tobacco, which required a large number of ships to transport it to Britain. Consequently, "shipping space was plentiful on the westward passage, and shipowners and British mercantilists offered Virginia buyers cheap freight rates on finished goods."[20] While it is possible that Rind had extravagant tastes, the prevalence of imported goods available for sale and the cash-poor Virginia economy make it likely that Rind occasionally accepted household goods in trade. After William's death, some of these goods were sold to clear his debts, and Clementina was able to mortgage others to finance expansions to her printing business.[21]

When William died on 19 August 1773, Clementina had borne five children, at least three of whom would survive to adulthood,[22] and was the heir to a successful (albeit debt-ridden), politically charged printing business with two presses that played a key role in giving voice to the opposition. Helping her with the press was a relative, John Pinkney.[23] William Rind's estate also included a slave named Dick. He almost certainly would have worked at the printing house, assisting with the physically demanding aspects of running the printing press, as this was a common practice in artisan households in the South.[24] Children of printers also commonly helped out, usually by delivering newspapers, but William, Clementina's second son, went on to become a printer himself, suggesting that he may have assisted in the shop as well.[25] Clementina had no qualms about appealing to the public interest to support her editorial work, as discussed below, and she gained either the confidence or sympathy of the elected leaders, or both, for she won the next contract for printer to the public when the House of Burgesses voted in 1774.[26]

Rind immediately established her ownership and editorship of the *Gazette*, carefully foregrounding that she came to the editorship by necessity rather than ambition. In the subsequent year, she directly addressed her readers only occasionally, but the abrupt change in editor required an explanation. William Rind's death was widely circulated public news in Williamsburg and the surrounding area. His competitors, Purdie and Dixon, printed a lengthy obituary in their *Virginia Gazette* praising William's "Impartiality in the Conduct of his *Gazette*, by publishing the Productions of the several contending Parties that have lately appeared in this Country." Purdie and Dixon note that because Rind was a Freemason, his funeral was conducted with Masonic honors, which included a group of Masons who marched in the funeral procession before the coffin, which was followed by his family, friends, and business associates.[27]

Given that her husband's funeral was such a public event, Rind likely felt she needed to address candidly the change in leadership at her *Gazette*. In the

2 September 1773 edition, she explains: "May that All Ruling Power, whose chastening Hand has snatched from my dear infants and myself our whole Dependence, make me equal to the Task!" She continues:

> *Being now unhappily forced to enter upon Business on my own Account, I flatter myself those Gentlemen who shall continue to oblige me with their Custom will not be offended at my requesting them, in future, to be punctual in sending Cash with Advertisements, &c. The ardent Desire I have of rendering this Paper as useful and entertaining as possible urges the Necessity of attending to this Request, as it must be obvious to every one that Business of so extensive a Nature cannot be carried on with that Spirit which is necessary, without a sufficient Fund to support it.*

Rind deftly mixes female deference with assertiveness in requesting that her delinquent customers pay their bills, a rhetorical approach that would become the hallmark of her editorship. The logic of her appeal works like this: God took away her husband, upon whom she depended. In order to fulfill her responsibilities to her children, she must "enter upon Business on my own Account." To enable her to succeed in her business and support her children—as God has determined she must—her customers need to settle their accounts. The logic is unassailable. Rind concludes by asking the House of Burgesses to support her with their business, and signs herself "*The Public's most faithful, And most obedient*, Clementina Rind."[28]

This notice begins a pattern typical of Rind's editorship of the paper. When she was acting in her guise as owner, editor, and printer of the paper and needed to communicate information of general import, she inserted messages to her readers, either in italics or at the beginning of the paper. On the anniversary of her first edition as editor, she printed a notice that ran for several issues, thanking her subscribers and advertisers and asking them, once again, to pay their debts. As that longer letter to her readership attests, after a year on the job, Rind had come into her own. She thanks her readers for their "generous support" and promises, "it is with infinite satisfaction she can assure her customers that she shall shortly, should Providence be pleased to restore her health, be enabled to conduct her business with more ease and extension than her most sanguine expectations originally dictated." The prospect of running both a busy press and a newspaper, while raising young children, must have been daunting, but rather than crumbling under the strain or selling off her press to her competitors, Rind was instead planning to expand her business.

In the rest of her anniversary letter to her subscribers, Rind explains at some length her understanding of the role of the press in general and her personal

editorial principles. As in her earlier letter to subscribers, Rind once again employs deference, along with a gendered appeal for customers to pay their bills so that she can support her children. But she also forcefully asserts her ambition. As this is her most sustained explanation of her goals and editorial policy, the substance of it is reprinted here:

> The known emoluments arising from a free exercise of the press, in all matters which serve not the ends of corruption and malevolence, and the numerous other advantages derived from a well conducted newspaper, are so apparent, that it requires no comment, or expostulation, particularly to enlarge or set them forth. To revive, at all times in her power, the spirit of this paper, by a due observance of material intelligence, and a proper attention to all pieces with which she may be favoured from any of her correspondents, which, if they exceed not the bounds of her gazette, and are fraught with either a decent or moral tendency, shall have their proper arrangement.
>
> The printer would by no means be understood to boast a *superiority* in the conduct of a vehicle of this nature; she only advances, that it shall be her particular endeavour to amuse and instruct, and, at the same time, her firm determination, ever to preserve the *dignity* of her paper.
>
> Nor will she presume to urge that this gazette will be always exempt, or free, from small, or typographical errors, it being utterly impossible for the nicest eye, at all times, to distinguish, or perceive, faults of that nature, owing chiefly to the extreme hurry in which we are generally involved.
>
> A general correspondence with all the printers on this continent, as also with many of the printers, and others with whom it is convenient to carry on a correspondence of this sort, in many of the principal towns and cities of Great Britain, is established, which will of course be materially interesting and useful to us, by affording means to supply our readers with the latest intelligence from those different quarters.
>
> But while we are thus descanting upon the benefits resulting from a paper conducted on such a plan as we have mentioned, it may not be amiss, or unkindly taken, should we now drop a hint or two with respect to the means which alone can prolong its existence:—To every person, then, but more especially to every customer, it must evidently appear, that they are served at a very great expense, which cannot be defrayed without punctual remittances from the subscribers yearly; nor would the cash, due for advertisements at different periods, and for other kinds of printing work, be unacceptable, were it to accompany the gazette monthly and which we must earnestly hope will be a material consid-

> eration with our kind benefactors. This would enable her to proceed with spirit, and at the same time to lay something by for the support of her children at a future day; and she will not deny, that, under those circumstances, it will be pretty considerable.[29]

"Emoluments," "expostulation, "descanting": These are the words of someone who has read widely—probably over a long period of time—and who writes with practiced skill, confidence, and authority. To these qualities, Rind enjoined "dignity," a word she uses to convey the importance of civility, even in the midst of heated public debates. If a paper were to serve the public as a space for thoughtful, rational debate, principled editorship required that Rind, as editor, insist on a certain level of decorum and respect among participants. Of course, such a rational public space could exist only through the financial support of subscribers and advertisers. Rind concluded her letter by urging subscribers who live outside of Williamsburg to send their money with a merchant to the October meeting of the general court. She signed herself "the public's most grateful, and much obliged, humble servant."

Rind might well have signed herself "the public's *hardest working* humble servant," given the incredible amount of labor required to publish a weekly paper in a timely fashion. As described by Charles E. Clark in *The Public Prints: The Newspaper in Anglo-American Culture, 1665–1740*, printing a colonial newspaper was a laborious, physically demanding trade. He estimates that composing the paper "would have taken one good compositor up to twenty-eight hours, or at least two and a half working days, to accomplish." The actual printing "must have tied up one press, preventing its use for anything else, for at least one full working day a week."[30] William Rind owned two presses at the time of his death. While one press was tied up with printing the newspaper, he could run other jobs on the second press. The presence of two presses also makes it clear why Clementina Rind might have desired additional type in order to expand her business.

Historians of American printing widely agree that while running a print shop and newspaper offered printers the *opportunity* to make money from literary activities, there was no guarantee that such profit would materialize. In a dilemma familiar to most newspaper editors in eighteenth-century Anglo-America, Rind's customers were habitually delinquent in paying for subscriptions and ads. Colonial printers were forced to extend credit for months or even years, with such delinquencies frequently ruining the printer's business. John Peter Zenger complained in his *New-York Weekly Journal* in 1751 that some of

his customers were seven years behind in their payments.[31] While Zenger's circumstance was extreme, it is clear from Rind's appeal for annual payments that her own customers routinely ran several years in arrears. While she appeals for payment on the basis of both logic (news gathering costs money) and sentiment (she was a single mother supporting her children), her Williamsburg competitors Purdie and Dixon repeatedly threaten legal action against delinquent accounts.[32] The correspondence required of a well-connected newspaper editor was strenuous and expensive, especially when factoring in the high costs of paper and postage, but in Rind's estimation, this correspondence was well worth paying for, both on her part and that of her customers. Rind made similar appeals for cash payments in several issues, reminding customers that their ability to keep abreast of the political situation in other colonies depended upon their willingness to support the *Gazette* by their subscriptions and prompt payments for advertisements. Although Rind assumed a deferential tone in her editorial appeals, she asserted her economic needs and expectations forcefully.

While Rind's foray into a business not typical for eighteenth-century women required some deferential rhetorical acknowledgments on both her part and that of her customers and subscribers, her reliable work as a printer was so essential to the public weal in this time of upheaval that her status as a *female* writer, editor, publisher, and printer receded into the background except when she herself drew it to readers' attention. The authors she published acknowledged her sex matter-of-factly, finding it unproblematic to be published by a female printer. Richard Bland, for example, in a four-page pamphlet titled *To the Clergy of Virginia*, frames his argument by invoking her ownership of the press: "Gentleman, at the desire of several of your reverend body, I take the liberty to communicate to you through Mrs. Rind's press, my opinion of the governor's power to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction with this colony."[33] In an argument that parcels out the rights and responsibilities of the colonial governor and the colonists, Bland argues that the governor has no ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the clergy. This particular work emerged from an ongoing conversation about the relationship between organized religion and the state that had appeared in the *Gazette*. In the 9 December 1773 paper, an anonymous subscriber asked Rind to insert a series of questions into the *Gazette*, including such queries as: "I. Whether the ACT of TOLERATION be in force in *Virginia*? II. Whether (if it be) the *General Court* has any AUTHORITY to *licence* MEETING-HOUSES, or *refuse* to *register* them, when applied to, for that purpose?"[34]

In this debate and others, Rind functioned as a crucial conduit for commu-

nity discussions. As an editor and printer, Rind controlled who spoke publicly and to whom—at least through *her* press, for Purdie and Dixon continued to run their own version of the *Virginia Gazette* during Clementina's tenure, and they followed different editorial objectives.[35] Because authors of newspaper essays commonly used pseudonyms rather than their real names, it can be challenging for scholars today to know who wrote what. It is likely that many of the pseudonyms were open secrets—at least to other members of the elite. Rind's comments in her newspaper reveal, however, that while pseudonyms were acceptable for publication, *she* had to know the identity of authors, especially when essays criticized individuals. Her paper includes frequent private exchanges between Rind and contributors, often inserted in the advertising section (as opposed to the notices to her general readership, which typically appeared at the beginning of the paper), with Rind noting that she would publish a particular essay in a future issue. For example, in the 25 November 1773 edition, she advised one subscriber: "*The printer hereof presents her compliments to the* Traveller*, and informs him that* INIMICUS PRODAGORUM *is* now *received, and shall have a place in this paper as soon as possible.*"[36]

Rind commonly asked truly anonymous contributors to identify themselves so that she could verify the veracity of their submissions, for while she would publish submissions anonymously, she would not publish submissions that came to her anonymously. Rind addressed the issue of anonymity directly in the 30 December 1773 paper. Shortly prior to this date, she had been rebuked in Purdie and Dixon's competing *Virginia Gazette* by a letter writer styled "An Attentive Observer," who chastised her for refusing to publish an anonymous letter that criticized a "Great Man." The "Observer" pointed out that public embarrassment in the press "is the only Method by which the guilty Great can be punished" and concluded, "I am, Sir, a Friend to Mrs. Rind; but I advise her to remember, that Principles of Liberty first brought her Press to this Country, and that it is by such Principles only that it can be well supported here."[37]

Rind's response to this attack is the clearest articulation of her editorial principles with respect to individual submissions to her paper. She refused to publish anonymous, potentially slanderous submissions. As editor, she insisted on knowing the identity of contributors so that she could judge the veracity of their submissions. She explained that this policy was not a political litmus test, but rather it ensured that the *Gazette* remained a dignified space for debate. As she frequently did when she stepped out of her guise as impartial editor, Rind used italics, along with the ☞ symbol (known variously as a pointing hand, fist, or manicule) to signal her interjection into the larger conversations in which

the newspaper engaged. Here is the complete text of Rind's response to "An Attentive Observer":

> ☞*I shall ever feel a very sensible concern at being obliged to enter into altercations of any nature whatever; but the severe reprimand I received in Messieurs* Purdie & Dixon's *last paper, from* AN ATTENTIVE OBSERVER, *makes it absolutely necessary to say something in my own vindication. The motto of this paper has hitherto been, and ever shall be, strictly attended to; but, as the* OBSERVER *very justly remarks, "that the press should not be made a vehicle for the conveyance of slander," so neither can it be justifiable to publish, indiscriminately, every piece that may be offered. The one which I am accused of suppressing contains a detail of facts of a very interesting nature, which relate to individuals only. The affair is certainly cognizable in a court of law, where it must be more fully determined in the injured party's favour than by any publication in a newspaper; besides, as I am in some measure amenable to the public for what appears in my Gazette, I cannot think myself authorized to publish an anonymous piece. . . . When the author gives up his name, it shall, however repugnant to my inclination, have a place in this paper, as the principles upon which I set out will then, I flatter myself, plead my excuse with every party. In the mean time, I am thankful for the friendly hint the* ATTENTIVE OBSERVER *has given me, and will endeavor to profit by it; though I am not conscious of having deviated from that spirit of freedom which I shall always think it my duty to maintain.* CLEMENTINA RIND

Despite the vaguely threatening tone of "An Attentive Observer's" letter, reminding Rind that she and her husband were invited to come to Williamsburg only because many of the area's elite residents disliked the editorial stance of Purdie and Dixon's paper, Rind stood by her own editorial decision. Gracious but firm, Rind forcefully defends both her independence and her principles. She apologizes, not for failing to publish the letter in question, but for being drawn into a public dispute. Of the rightness of her own conduct, Rind remained certain: "*I am not conscious of having deviated from that spirit of freedom which I shall always think it my duty to maintain*."[38] She did allow debate in her paper, frequently between parties who chose to use pseudonyms in the paper, but she barred anonymous attacks on named individuals. Such, Rind believed, tended toward "corruption" and "malevolence."[39]

Rind's eminently rational voice and elegant prose style here reminds one of the *Spectator*, a rhetorical move that serves in part to obscure the gender of its writer. While Rind advises that the anonymous letter concerned a dispute best aired in a court of law, rather than the court of public opinion, she also believed the letter itself was potentially libelous and legally actionable. Her reluctance to

have her paper "enter into altercations" suggests that the letter violated both her sense of public decorum and legal prudence. Less clear is whether this sense of decorum was gender dependent, with Rind being conscious of her unusual position as a female editor, or whether it simply reflected her independent sense of what a newspaper should do and be. Certainly, Rind had no trouble rejecting submissions that seemed to her erroneous. She advised the subscriber of an article titled "Britain" that it would not appear due to "incorrectness," which "we hope, is sufficient apology for our non-compliance."[40]

Rind's refusal to publish certain articles implies that Williamsburg newspapers in the 1770s did not accept payment for the publication of letters and essays. Charles Clark claims that "the general practice among American printers prior to the Revolutionary crisis was to accept, if not solicit, fees for the publication of controversial pieces in their newspaper." The one exception he lists to this practice is Alexander Purdie, editor of the competing *Virginia Gazette*.[41] We should add Clementina Rind's *Virginia Gazette* to this list of exceptions, for no internal evidence in her paper indicates that she accepted payment for printing letters. Indeed the evidence, in the form of her editorial interjections into the running narrative of the paper, suggests that she actively insisted on her editorial discernment and independence, uncompromised by payment.

While anonymity and pseudonymity both were common among submissions to eighteenth-century newspapers, many regular subscribers to the newspaper likely knew—or at least suspected—who authored what. Sometimes they revealed one another's identity in public debates, as did the coach makers "the Hibernian" and "the Canadian," who maintained a weeks-long, unintentionally hilarious exchange of letters maligning the training and skills of the other.[42] Imagining the eighteenth-century newspaper editor as a conduit helps us understand that Clementina Rind was not merely a figurehead for the press, nor was she hidden in the print shop. People came to her. She was the center of the flow of information in and out of Williamsburg. She chose what information became public, either through the *Gazette* or some other form of publication from her press, while holding on to some secrets, such as the identity of contributors who wished to remain anonymous to the larger public.

Under this confluence of urgent circumstances for both the colony and Rind, with the state's authority to govern being challenged on multiple levels at the same time that Rind was struggling to survive financially, her violation of gender norms receded in importance. In this sense, Rind's situation resembles that of Deborah Sampson, who made similar claims of exigency in arguing that the demands of patriotism outstripped the conventions of gender roles.

Although Rind's assumption of control of her husband's press lacked the shock and drama of Sampson's gender masquerade, Rind justified her incursion into the public sphere via her press through the doctrine of "usefulness." The work conducted by her press was so essential to the public good and the promotion of patriotism and citizenship that gender roles became a subsidiary concern. Beyond the "useful" and "entertaining" qualities of the paper she published, Rind made few literary claims for herself, yet she facilitated the literary productions of many others, some of whom were obviously among the political elite; others, such as the coach makers, clearly were not. In this fashion, Rind made herself legible in a time and place—the colonial South—that did not value women for their intellectual abilities.

A Newspaper of Her Own: Clementina Rind's *Virginia Gazette*

Clementina Rind did not simply follow in William's footsteps in editing the *Gazette*. However, before we can understand the substantial changes that she introduced into the *Gazette*, we must first understand how her husband, William, ran the *Gazette*. The typical *Virginia Gazette* under William Rind's editorship consisted of four pages, each of which had three columns running the length of the page, while an extra busy news week, or a week in which other newspapers and important letters arrived after the type had already been set or the paper had actually been printed, might generate a two-page supplement. Because engravings were very costly to produce, Rind's *Gazette* was text-based. Generally, the only image included was the device in the masthead, which depicted the colonial Virginia seal. Foreign news dominated the first page, a category that included Parliamentary reports and news from Europe such as reports of military conflicts and harvest news that could impact merchants. Extended essays on topics of general interest and historical anecdotes, particularly about the royal families of Europe, also appeared frequently. Such news and information was often jumbled together into a running narrative, with only dates or phrases such as "we hear" or "a correspondent reports" to signify that the information came from personal letters or a series of extracts traded widely among colonial and European papers. Occasionally these extracts name the newspaper in which they first appeared, such as the *Pennsylvania Packet*, but more often William Rind did not indicate a source, even when the news clearly came from another colonial paper. The second page continued with foreign news and transitioned into news from the other colonies, including horse rac-

ing reports, which sometimes included race reports from Annapolis, William's former home. Lightning storms were perennially popular news items, but other colonial extracts focused on storms that might depress agricultural production or disrupt shipping.

The third page usually continued with colonial news, especially obituaries and shipping news relevant to Williamsburg, but advertising and notices comprised the bulk of this page and the fourth page. The number of such paid submissions in the Rinds' *Virginia Gazette* was relatively large compared to other southern newspapers.[43] While the larger number of advertisements might suggest that the *Gazette* was more profitable than other papers, this profitability may have been offset by a lower number of subscribers than some of the urban northeastern papers, which drew from a much larger population base.[44] Proclamations and letters from the colonial Virginia governor, the Right Honourable John, Earl of Dunmore, appeared regularly, as did court notices, which included lists of court verdicts, upcoming court dates, and execution announcements. Intermixed with the legal announcements, shopkeepers and tradesmen routinely advertised their businesses and stock of goods. James Haldane, for example, a coppersmith and brass founder, regularly advertised his teakettles, pans, andirons, and so forth in the *Gazette*.[45] Merchants publicized the arrival of new stock imported from Great Britain or other colonies, while ship captains announced shipping opportunities. Property owners advertised the sale of land and houses for rent. Amidst the variety of advertisements and notices included in the typical *Gazette*, it is striking how many advertisements concern slavery, such as those announcing slave sales, which distinguish between domestic-born slaves and those brought in on slave ships.

A large cluster of advertisements in every issue described lost and found property. Horses, cattle, pigs, and chickens regularly wandered off or were stolen. Marking no distinction between humans and animals, an extraordinary number of ads sought the return of human property. Advertisements regularly sought escaped indentured servants, convict servants, and slaves, complete with descriptions of their persons, such as their ethnicity, height, hair and skin color, as well as their clothing, accents, and physical skills. Yet another category of found notices focused on people of color who had been taken up and imprisoned on mere suspicion of being slaves—a circumstance that illustrates the potential constraints placed upon even free people of color in the South.[46]

Advertisements in Williamsburg were commonly run by or targeted to women readers. This was true of the *Gazette* under the editorship of both Rinds. One woman, who remained anonymous and asked interested parties to

inquire at the printer, advertised her availability to serve as a schoolmistress in a country town, where she would "teach reading, plain needlework; and marking."[47] Two other women advertised for customers for their ferry crossing in Yorktown, assuring subscribers that "the ferry shall be kept inferior to none in the colony."[48] Jane Vobe submitted notice of the opening of her new business, a tavern, in 1772, and requested that former customers patronize her new enterprise. At the same time, she explained that she was still "in want of a good COOK, and would be glad to hire or purchase one."[49] Juxtaposed to such ads, men on occasion supplied notice that they would no longer be responsible for the debts incurred by their wives, due to separation or their wives' abandonment of them. In turn, women occasionally put notices in the paper asserting their legal rights to their property. In the 9 December 1773 paper, Anne Slaughter asserted her legal claim to eleven slaves held by her husband. She maintained that ten of these slaves were secured to her by a settlement prior to her marriage, while one other came to her via trust from her mother's will. It is not clear what Slaughter hoped to accomplish through this notice, whether it was to discourage or bar her husband from disposing of her property or to embarrass him into surrendering the slaves.[50]

Although neither William's nor Clementina's *Virginia Gazette* featured a weekly poetry corner in the 1770s, as did Purdie and Dixon's, both frequently printed poetry. Sometimes these poems were original compositions, such as acrostics on Miss Peggy Ritchie and Miss Polly Harris that were submitted by subscribers, or the poem "On Music," which was written by a "youth,"[51] while other times they reprinted popular British poets such as Ben Jonson. Most poems seem to have been printed at the instigation of subscribers. One such submission, titled "The Laughing Philosopher," targets all those who attempt to step outside of their stations, for "From their follies and vices diversion I find." Women are a particular target in this poem, as these lines suggest:

> I laugh till my eyes are bedim'd with my tears.
> When women neglect their domestic affairs,
> And puzzle their heads with political cares;[52]

And yet the subscriber apparently found nothing incongruous about sending this poem to the *Virginia Gazette* with the following note: "Mrs. Rind, *Please to give the enclosed a place in your next paper*." Given that the poem and its form of submission did not violate Rind's editorial principles, however pointed its observation about women meddling in affairs of state, Rind published it. While

Clementina Rind was clearly stepping out of her station in her role as printer, her subscribers seemed able to hold ostensibly mutually exclusive beliefs: that woman's proper place was in the home, and that "Mrs. Rind" performed a valuable public service by editing the *Gazette* and running a print shop.

This poem and the notices and advertisements make it clear that the residents of colonial Williamsburg operated amid tremendous and complex social contradictions on the eve of the Revolution. While colonists resisted the authority of the British government to make their laws and levy taxes, they simultaneously bought and sold other human beings and their labor, whether black slaves, white indentured servants, or convict servants. There seemed to be no sense of the ironic incongruity of challenging the legitimacy of British colonial authority while asserting similar authority over more brutally colonized slaves. At the same time, colonists relegated married women to the status of legal and economic dependents and yet required single or widowed women without familial assistance to work to support themselves and their children.

One might well ask: "How did Clementina Rind or any other female printer negotiate such a complicated legal and social environment?" Out of economic necessity, Rind and her sister printers chose to continue operating presses that they had inherited. Those who were most successful built upon the success of their father or spouse, introducing change into the printing operations only gradually while insisting on the public usefulness of their endeavors. During her tenure as editor, Clementina retained the basic layout of the paper as it had been published under William's leadership, with telling changes in content. The paper remained the standard four pages in length, with three columns of type, as was typical of colonial papers. Gradually, however, the content of the paper shifted, becoming much more local and intercolonial in its interests. A growing sense of collectivity among the colonies in defiance of the taxes on tea and other goods imported from the East Indies facilitated this change, but Rind fostered this collectivity by the *type* of news she selected to print.

In the 19 May 1774 issue, prompted by the Boston Port Bill, which closed the Boston port until restitution was made to the Crown and the East India Company for the tea destroyed during the Boston Tea Party, Rind indicates her deliberate attention to intercolonial issues. In a fiery passage, italicized to highlight her intervention into the paper, she writes,

> *At a time when the liberties of the colonies are daringly infringed, and despotism is exerting her baneful influence in the minds of those who wish not well to the just*

> *privileges of* America, *it certainly behooves every wellwisher to her rights, and more especially a publisher of intelligence who has her cause sincerely at heart, to lay openly those matters which may, in any respect, tend to the discovery of arbitrary or illegal measures, threatened by the mother country towards us. Under this head, the printer of this paper conceives herself obligated to convey to the public the late despotic proceedings of the h----e of c-----s, in the most ample manner, and to brand with infamy those unprecedented resolves which they have so precipitately entered into. But without a minute detail, with respects to the many paragraphs in the* English *papers, for and against this injured country, and which are so frequently blended as materially to contradict each other, we have rather adopted a more permanent authority, by introducing a few candid pieces, sufficiently descriptive of the oppressive proceedings of the* PARENTAL *country towards her dutiful and filial children. . . . The illegal and unwarrantable act of parliament, passed on the* 30*th of* March *last, and principally aimed against the* Bostonians, *whose patriotic conduct on so interesting an occasion deserves the highest applause, will not, it is hoped, quell their free spirit, now the* storm *is beginning, and more especially as there are so many united colonies to protect her at so critical a juncture.*[53]

In this passage, Rind indicates a change in her editorial strategy, as she altered both the content and the news style of the paper. First, she lays bare her sympathies: her heart rests with America, composed of colonies, but which she conceives of as a "country" in its own right. Determined to expose the "arbitrary and illegal measures" of Britain, Rind abrogates to herself a "more permanent authority" to choose well-written individual essays that discuss these measures.

Virtually every subsequent issue of the paper in 1774 updated readers with regard to how Bostonians were responding to the tea crisis and the blockage of the port and the ways in which other colonies extended their support. Rather than quoting extensively from the English papers in the running narrative style that was typical of the *Gazette* under William's editorship (and was typical of colonial papers in general), Clementina instead began publishing more "candid pieces," which appeared in her paper as discrete, individually authored letters or essays. She discarded the running narrative style because she did not think it illuminating for the dispute between the colonies and the Crown. She drew attention to her decision: in the running narrative style, Rind contends, news, idea, and arguments are "so frequently blended as materially to contradict each other." She chose to use individually authored pieces by her fellow colonials not merely because of an abundance of colonial news but also because she sought to air colonial perspectives. To Rind's mind, the American

colonies had become less an integral part of the empire, while the Crown had become an antagonist to a collective America—"the united colonies."

Not all news reflecting this antagonistic relationship was serious; sometimes this sense of union came from ridiculing the English nobility. In the midst of serious news—and perhaps to alleviate its grimness, Rind found space to run satirical articles such as an extract from the New York *Gazetteer*, in which "Peter Paragraph" mocked a recent news item that reported: "'At the cricket match between Kent and Surry, a few days ago, Lord Tankerville . . . *caught two very difficult balls with his own hands*.'" He responded: "Earth! air! water! and fire! is it possible? What! Lord Tankerville! Lord Tankerville himself!—to catch two balls—nay, two very difficult balls too—and with his own hands! Immortal tidings."[54] "Peter Paragraph" then proceeds to satirize the English nobility and the gullibility of the public in finding such news interesting. He proposes, however, that were such news items to run regularly, they might inspire competition for similar feats among the nobility, keeping them out of the colonies' business.

As the content of the *Virginia Gazette* under Clementina Rind's tenure increasingly came to emphasize the intercolonial conflict with Great Britain, she published more essays submitted by subscribers who were passionately engaged with the legal and moral relationship between England and the American colonies as well as with their own local concerns. While the colonial conflict dominated the news, the College of William and Mary was another popular concern. Debates about the college centered on a range of issues, including the dearth of student housing, the need for a professorship of law, and the curriculum.[55] Other local topics include articles exploring the suitability of Virginia for viticulture and debates about paper money.[56]

The later issues of the *Gazette* edited by Rind suggest an increase in content aimed at female readers, emphasizing that the purchase and consumption of consumer goods were political acts. Perhaps, after a year spent working out an individual understanding of the complicated relationship between gender and politics, Rind was moving toward a new understanding of the importance of politics to her sex as a whole. A short poem "*Written by a LADY, on receiving a handsome set of* TEA CHINA," published 16 June 1774, illustrates this point. In the poem, a lady admonishes a beautiful set of gold and blue china:

SPECIOUS instrument of ill,
Banish'd, in disgrace retire;
Let concealment hide thee still,
Nor to public view aspire.

You, indeed, in days of yore,
    Wou'd have met a better fate;
. . . . . .
Now thou art with horror seen
    As a ministerial snare.

Dar'd'st thou hope thy gaudy dress
    (Soldier's like) of gold and blue,
E'er cou'd make thy guilt the less,
    Or my steady soul subdue!

Know! the luxuries of life,
    One by one, I can resign;
But, thou volunteer in strife,
    India, first farewell to thine![57]

The speaker wants readers to look more closely into their domestic habits to see how they might intersect with imperial interests, at the expense of the North American colonies.

Consumption of tea became a particular locus of consumer anxiety. Take, for instance, two letters that appeared in the 15 September 1774 issue. The first of these letters, an extract from the *South Carolina Gazette*, is simply titled "TO THE LADIES OF SOUTH CAROLINA." Signed "A PLANTER'S WIFE," this article asks women as household managers to support the colonies by refusing to allow into their houses tea or any goods produced by the East India Company. The author of the letter tells her readers, "my sisters, we cannot be tame spectators, when so much remains for us to do." Immediately following this letter was another directed "To the LADIES of PENNSYLVANIA" and signed "We have the honour to subscribe ourselves your affectionate countrywomen, of Virginia, Williamsburg, August 7, 1774." The Williamsburg women similarly argue against tea consumption, but they frame it as a luxury in a time of deepening political troubles and explain that husbands and sons will rely upon the "public virtue the ladies will exert at this critical juncture." Following the "steady matrons of Rome," the author argues that self-denial and abstention from the use of luxuries are public virtues.[58] The publication of these two letters written *by* women, *for* women, prompted Cynthia A. Kierner to describe this issue as "probably the greatest concentration of women's writing to date in an American periodical and certainly the greatest in any southern colonial newspaper."[59] It is no coincidence that these

letters appeared in a newspaper edited and published by a woman, who had, through the course of a difficult year, learned that matters of polity intersect with the lives of every individual, regardless of sex.

Given that these letters were anonymous, we cannot say with any certainty that they were, in fact, authored by women, especially the reprint from the *South Carolina Gazette*. However, given Clementina Rind's careful vetting of every direct submission to her paper and the small size of Williamsburg, Rind likely would have been personally acquainted with the authors of this letter. Taken together, the tea poem and letters create a virtuous, public, textual space for women as writers and readers. The authors represent themselves as the domestic heart of the polity, essential to its functioning and, because of this critical position, advocate for women to participate, albeit in a limited fashion, in matters of state. In Rind's paper, at least, these claims went unchallenged. Phillis Wheatley had pursued a virtuous public space through her exemplary Christianity and her service to others via the elegy. Deborah Sampson pursued it via her appropriation of a masculinized form of patriotism that required delicate defense of her virtue. Rind, her female advertisers, and her female essayists and poets simply assume that their virtue and good intentions gave them the right and duty to claim this public space—an assumption no doubt enabled by their whiteness but fueled by their literacy and their very real sense of usefulness to their families and the community at large. What we see in these letters is the doctrine of republican womanhood being negotiated before there was a republic.

The necessity for public virtue—or at any rate public *displays* of virtue—was a topic emphasized continually in 1774. In the 4 August 1774 issue of the *Virginia Gazette*, "B.D" submitted a letter to "Mrs. Rind," in which he urged, "gentlemen of the first rank and fortune" to set a moral example for the "inferior classes" by abstaining from purchasing British manufactures and by supporting American artisans.[60] The letter from the "countrywomen of Virginia" seems to have picked up on this thread of the elite setting examples for the lower classes, but it strikes new ground as it parses household responsibilities for purchasing and consumption by gender, rather than by class.

At the same time that the content of the paper altered to become more colonial in outlook, Rind also changed its physical appearance in several telling ways. When Clementina initially assumed the editorship, she continued William's practice of locating the printer's name and subscription information at the bottom of the last page, simply substituting her name for his. But in the 24 March 1774 issue, she moved the colophon, or publisher's information, from

THURSDAY, April 21, 1774. THE NUMBER 415.

VIRGINIA GAZETTE.

OPEN TO ALL PARTIES, BUT INFLUENCED BY NONE.

WILLIAMSBURG: PRINTED BY CLEMENTINA RIND.

All Perſons may be ſupplied with this GAZETTE at 12s. 6d. a Year. ADVERTISEMENTS, of a moderate Length, are inſerted for 5s. the firſt Week, and 1s. each Time after; long ones in Proportion.——PRINTING WORK, of every Kind, executed with Care and Diſpatch.

Masthead of the 21 April 1774 *Virginia Gazette*, edited by Clementina Rind and featuring the colonial seal of Virginia. Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

the very end of the paper to the very beginning: Clementina Rind's name appeared as printer immediately under the masthead. This dramatic change in layout suggests Rind had grown confident in her authority and in her ability to run the paper, a conjecture supported by the shift to increased colonial content. Shortly thereafter, she announced that she had "lately considerably enlarged her paper, and [was] expecting shortly an elegant set of types from London . . . together with all other materials relative to the printing business." Clearly, she sought to improve the physical appearance of the paper, but her announcement also reveals that she wants readers to understand that she is expanding her business. Although type eventually became so worn that they had to be discarded, that was not the case with Rind's older type; her paper and other printed works were clearly legible. Instead, an additional set of type would free up the older ones to be used in other aspects of her printing business. As a consequence of these expenses and her concern for the "dignity of her gazette," she once again asked subscribers to be punctual in their payment on an annual basis, but asked that payments for advertisements and small printing jobs be discharged at the meeting of the general courts.[61]

In claiming ownership of the paper and in planning to improve its appearance, Rind signaled that editing the *Gazette* had become more than a vocation—it had become an avocation and an identity. Rind did not stop with those changes, however, for in August 1774, she introduced a new device to the masthead. The device that William had long used in the masthead was a standard image of the seal of colonial Virginia. Purdie and Dixon used a similar version of the seal in their competing version of the *Virginia Gazette*.[62] The new

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1774. THE NUMBER 435.

VIRGINIA GAZETTE.

OPEN TO ALL PARTIES, BUT INFLUENCED BY NONE.

WILLIAMSBURG: PRINTED BY CLEMENTINA RIND.

All Persons may be supplied with this GAZETTE at 15s. 6d. a Year. ADVERTISEMENTS, of a moderate Length, are inserted for 3s. the first Week, and 1s. each Time after; long ones in Proportion.——PRINTING WORK, of every Kind, executed with Care and Dispatch.

Masthead of the 8 September 1774 *Virginia Gazette*, edited by Clementina Rind and featuring a new device that she commissioned. Facsimile copy, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

device, however, differed considerably. While the new design features some similarities with the old one, including the crowned head at the top and the two stylized soldiers bearing a shield and spears, the new design is more ornate. The base for the soldiers, shield, and crowned head is a vignette of merchant ships under full sail. If there is a political angle to this device—and I believe there is—Clementina Rind is clearly asserting that free trade is the basis of the empire, a view that harmonizes with the numerous essays she ran supporting the rights of the colonies to engage in free trade. This new device appears to have been used only in Rind's *Gazette*, which suggests that she commissioned it specifically for her business, an act signaling her intellectual and imaginative investment in the paper.[63]

The Readership of the *Virginia Gazette*

As is the case with any form of ephemera, determining the audience for a colonial newspaper is an inexact science. Subscriber numbers, while important, tell us only part of the story. The readership of a colonial paper was never identical to its subscriber list. How much the actual readership diverged from its subscriber list depended on a number of factors. To uncover the audience of a colonial paper in its entirety, one must start with the subscriber list and then consider a range of other factors. What was the typical household composition of subscribers? Was the paper published in an urban or more rural setting? What were the literacy rates for the larger community? How widely available

were coffeehouses, inns, and taverns where papers might be shared? Last, but not least, what kind of readership was implied by the advertising section of the newspaper, both in terms of who submitted advertisements, but also whom they targeted?

The audiences for colonial newspapers were much larger than the subscriber numbers and included both a direct cohort of subscribers and a less obvious but significantly larger indirect cohort.[64] Although I have been unable to determine the exact number of subscribers to the *Gazette* under Clementina Rind's editorship, Isaiah Thomas remarked: "It has always been allowed that 600 customers, with a considerable number of advertisements, weekly, will but barely support the publication of a newspaper."[65] Subscribers to the papers comprised the direct cohort, drawn largely from several specific groups: the male, Anglo-Saxon, landowning elite; professionals such as lawyers and doctors; prosperous merchants; and literate and financially secure master craftsmen. Elite landowners, lawyers, merchants, and master craftsmen would have had compelling interests in the Williamsburg paper, with its emphasis on news necessary for conducting business, such as shipping news, legal notices, and notices of property or goods for sale.

The indirect audience is less easy to categorize but is in many ways more intriguing. The indirect audience for the paper was probably many times larger than the direct audience, although that figure is impossible to quantify accurately. As Charles E. Clark acknowledges in *The Public Prints*, while newspaper publishers may have aimed the bulk of their content at paying subscribers, "the bounds of literacy were considerably broader than the publishers' intended audience," and "accessibility to the newspapers in homes and public places, especially by comparison to accessibility to most other printed genres, must have been quite simple and widespread." Further, newspapers were not "high" culture—meaning that as linguistic documents, they were accessible to individuals with a range of literacy skills and did not depend on knowledge of foreign languages or the classics.[66] That is not to say that newspapers did not discuss complex issues; the currency debates, for example, which appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* throughout the 1770s demanded knowledge of politics, economics, and business practices.

Most newspaper articles, however, would have been accessible to a wide-ranging indirect audience. Textual evidence implies awareness on the part of subscribers and the Rinds of the audience beyond the direct subscribers. One important segment of the indirect audience was the various members of the subscriber's household, which in elite households would have included not

only wives, sons, and daughters, but other more distant relatives, as well as individuals employed to work in the household such as tutors and secretaries. Elite households in colonial Virginia would also have had servants, most commonly by this time slaves, but perhaps indentured servants as well. Another, less definable audience comprised those who read, or listened to the newspaper being read, at coffeehouses, taverns, and other public gathering places, which regularly stocked newspapers and periodicals. While this communal audience would have included merchants and master craftsmen, it would have been more largely composed of a heterogeneous mixture of journeymen, clerks, and storekeepers, many of whom probably had only irregular access to the paper. Further, given that eighteenth-century newspapers were sometimes read aloud in public places, the indirect audience for newspapers would have included on occasion the illiterate or minimally literate.

While the majority of the direct and indirect audience for newspapers would have been male, female southerners also participated in newspaper culture. It is true that, in the eighteenth century, relative to literacy rates for northern populations, rates for free white men and women lagged in the South,[67] and that female education also differed from that in the North. In *Claiming the Pen: Women and Intellectual Life in the Early American South*, Catherine Kerrison explains: "Within a southern world divided by race as well as gender, meticulous adherence to a strictly delineated hierarchy was even more critical: rebellion by blacks, women, or nonelite men could topple the whole precarious structure. The traditional advice of the Restoration era served male purposes well in the South as it fostered a patriarchal ethic in a society that constantly threatened to refute it. Indeed, the expansion of print throughout the century reinforced the traditional ideas of gender that were available to all ranks of people from tidewater Virginia to the Carolina backcountry." Consequently, Kerrison notes, English advice literature, which emphasized male authority and women's deference, "comprised the bulk of what girls read, in educations that were vastly circumscribed," although novels also came to assume an important role later in the century.[68] Kerrison concludes that these factors explain a commensurate lag in authorship by southern women relative to northern women.[69]

And yet, if we broaden our understanding of authorship to include the intellectual labor of editing a paper for a wide-ranging audience, we suddenly find that we have many more southern women "authors." Of the twenty-five women printers Leona Hudak identifies as active in Anglo-America prior to 1820, ten worked in the South. Seven of that cohort operated presses in the years immediately before, during, and after the Revolution. In addition to Rind, the following

women operated a press and published a newspaper: Anne Catharine Green (Annapolis), Mary Katherine Goddard (Baltimore), Mary Crouch (Charleston, South Carolina, and Salem, Massachusetts), Ann Timothy (Charleston), Elizabeth Bowden (Charleston), and Phebe Herbert (Hagerstown, Maryland). Each woman functioned in her community as a crucial cultural broker, bringing people together on the basis of shared intellectual, political, and business interests. Considering each woman as an author in her own right would dramatically expand our range and understanding of southern women's authorship, and it might also grant insight into women's reading practices, for we would have encapsulated in their extracts and reprints a catalog of their individual reading.

As an ephemeral form widely shared among readers, newspapers present more challenges than books—or at least a different set of challenges—in tracking nonelite readers. Nevertheless, as advertisements make clear, members of the large indirect audience paid for advertisements and notices and were their sought-after targets. Colonial editors and advertisers grasped the intermittent access their indirect audience had to the paper. While the news content was new for every edition of the paper, advertisements typically ran for three weeks or longer, with reduced prices for longer-running ads. Running advertisements for an extended period of time ensured that those who had only indirect access to the paper, through copies passed from hand to hand or available in some fashion in a public place, would, eventually, come across the advertisement. Advertisements regularly notified readers of the advertiser's availability to teach school or tutor. Property was advertised for sale or rent. Master craftsmen sought journeymen in trades as diverse as barbering and cabinetmaking. Other advertisements described lost items or identified livestock or personal possessions that had been found or "taken up." Still other advertisements searched for people, most commonly runaway indentured servants (usually Irish but occasionally Scots) and, less commonly, escaped slaves.

Some advertisers pursued people who had lost contact with their families. For example, a June 1774 advertisement queried readers about the whereabouts of Scotsman James Young, who had been a joiner by trade; an inheritance seems to have been involved. A follow-up advertisement in July 1774 announced that Young had died without having children, and his estate was composed only of his tools (which were nonetheless valuable). In a similar case, the 14 July 1774 *Virginia Gazette* ran the following notice: "If one Sarah Farguson, who came indented from *England* about six years ago, and served her time with Mr. *Charles Lewis*, deceased, on *Rappahannock*, will apply to the printer of this paper, she will hear of something much to her advantage."[70]

A similar scenario inspired the following advertisement: "If John Murrell, brother of Sarah Murrell, late of Gloucester county, will apply to the printer hereof, he will be informed of a legacy of about nineteen pounds, left him by his sister Sarah."[71] These sought-after individuals seem unlikely to have been subscribers to the paper, but the customers placing the advertisements understood that newspapers had a broad reach well beyond their subscriber list.

Locating the Author Behind the Editor

Given that the *types* of advertisements in the *Gazette* were not markedly different from those in other colonial papers, one might well ask why such advertisements are important to understanding Clementina Rind's position as editor and printer. Both the typical practices associated with advertising and the specific individual advertisements, however, reveal much about Rind. Contemporary practices associated with advertising require us to reorient our understanding of the role of the colonial printer, traditionally seen as a compiler and arranger of news, especially when we imagine a woman as the chief conduit of news and community interaction. Rind functioned as a kind of cultural broker with her hand in many community affairs. As advertisement after advertisement reminds us, readers need to "inquire at the printer" for further information. The printer held found items and put employers in contact with potential employees. She knew the identity of her advertisers and anonymous letter writers. She was the town's keeper of secrets. In her role as editor and printer, Clementina Rind was the most powerful woman in Virginia. She garnered her power not through her affiliation with a powerful man, but in her own right.

Rind likely wrote most of these advertisements herself. In fact, we probably see more traces of her writing and editing—and that of other colonial printers—in the advertisements than anywhere else in the paper. The majority of advertisements that appear in the *Gazette* are not markedly different in content from those that appear in other colonial newspapers. And yet a few advertisements allow us to see the cleverness and wit that Rind hid behind the mask of the serious and dignified editor. One hilarious advertisement in the 23 June 1774 *Virginia Gazette* makes Rind's editing practices clear, while also allowing us a glimpse of her sense of the ridiculous. Rind notes, in the advertisement section of the paper: "*We received* Three Shillings *with the following advertisement, which is the principal reason for our inserting it. In order that it may not lose any of its* merit, *the reader has it* verbatim."

Tumbling Tom

NOW rising 8 years 13 hands and 1 Inch High Stands This Season at Calloden & will Cover mares at 5s. the leap and 3s. 9d. the Season his Coular nor pedigree ant Worth mentioning I will not be accountable for aney Mares that Shall be Lost for I have no pasteridge (Some Gentlemens Cureosety may lead them So fare as to be desirous of knowing What his Name derive from Which may be done in a few Words that is when Rod he often Tips all nine & follows the bole.[72]

The advertisement clearly amused Rind not only in its near-incomprehensibility but also because of the comically unflattering way the advertiser describes his own stallion. The advertisement would be sure to attract subscribers who sought an ugly, ill-tempered, unrideable stallion to sire foals and who did not care if their mares wandered off.

The barely literate nature of this advertisement highlights, by contrast, the standard spelling and usage practices exhibited throughout the *Virginia Gazette* during Clementina Rind's tenure—increasingly standard practices that she assumes a good-sized percentage of her audience will recognize. Although Rind was assisted in her printing office by her kinsman and employee, John Pinkney, the standard usage prevalent throughout the *Gazette* reveals more about Rind's sophisticated literary skills than any historical source. Editorial facility with spelling, grammar, and usage rules had become the standard for printers over the course of the eighteenth century. As Philip Luckombe acknowledged in his 1771 book *The History and Art of Printing*: "By the Laws of Printing, indeed, a Compositor should abide by his Copy, and not vary from it. . . . But this good law is now looked upon as obsolete, and most Authors expect the Printer to spell, point, and digest their Copy, that it may be intelligible and significant to the Reader."[73] Given the uniformity of spelling and usage practices in the advertising section of the *Gazette* and her hilarity at the "Tumbling Tom" advertisement in particular, Rind likely wrote many of these advertisements herself and edited the rest.

In addition to being able to edit submissions into a uniform standard, an appreciation for the ridiculous probably made a colonial newspaper editor's job easier. As the ad for "Tumbling Tom" demonstrated, Rind's sense of humor occasionally emerges in her writing. We see her wit likewise displayed in the commentary she appended to a short "news" article she ran at the request of a customer.

> We received the following extraordinary production a few days since, which, as the author is candid enough to subscribe his name to, we have thought proper

to insert; but as we cannot *thoroughly* rely upon the validity of what he advances, and as we conceive our readers will not be *materially* profited thereby, it is expected Mr. Howard will not neglect to send TEN SHILLINGS for his *prophetic notion*; that being the charge for its publication.——The reader has it *verbatim*.

Amherst County Virginia 9th January 1774
THE Subscriber declares himself to be that Prophet spoken of in the first Chapter of Saint John's Gospel by whom the strange Act is to be perform'd which is spoken of in the twenty eighth Chapter of the book of the Prophet Isaiah and I have a desire to go to England and desire that a Fleet shall wait on me from London

William Howard[74]

The addition of such bizarre but entertaining pieces in her newspaper enhanced the local content, while highlighting—albeit in a humorous way—Rind's own forthrightness and clear writing. The absence of clarity in these two advertisements makes visible to us by contrast Rind's editorial skill.

Advertisements are not the only places where we see Rind's authorial hand. She occasionally supplied notices of books for sale in her printing office, and she likely wrote many of the shorter obituaries. Unsigned and marked by their brevity, these obituaries differ from the longer obituaries sent in by subscribers, such as the lengthy, front-page obituary for the Reverend Richard Hewitt submitted by "A Customer."[75] Brief obituaries tend to be similar to the following in style: "Last Monday died, in her 20th year, Mrs. FANNY WRAY, wife of Mr. James Wray, resident of this city; whom thus untimely cut off in the spring of life, adorned with all the endearing qualities of an affectionate and tender wife, dutiful and pious daughter, charitable and forgiving friend, humane and benevolent mistress, her husband, parent, friends, and servants, conspire to lament." Or this still briefer notice: "Died lately, Mrs. JANE PAGE, lady of the honourable John Page, esquire, of North river, in Gloucester county."[76] As Janice Hume argues, the kind of information reported in an obituary is noteworthy not merely for what it relates about an individual but also for what it communicates about the values and norms of a particular society.[77] Clearly, women were valued for their performance of their duties—as daughters, wives, mothers, friends, and mistresses. As we will see shortly with Clementina Rind's own obituary, women could be valued in other roles, but only *after* they had already fulfilled these relational responsibilities.

While acknowledging shared losses, the *Virginia Gazette*'s obituaries illustrate the less than egalitarian nature of who was worthy of receiving an

obituary. The deaths of poor people and slaves were not reported unless they resulted *from* extraordinary occurrences, such as a lightning strike, or resulted *in* extraordinary circumstances, such as a murder trial. Even then, the deceased might go unnamed. Both Jane Page and Fanny Wray, by contrast, belonged to the elite (note the "servants" mentioned in Wray's obituary). Jane Page was the first wife of frequent contributor to the paper John Page, who would, after a few lonely years as a widower, marry Margaret Lowther and publish a volume of her poetry and letters, as discussed in the introduction to this volume. It becomes less surprising that John Page would have admired and encouraged Margaret Lowther's literary and intellectual pursuits when we consider that he supported Clementina Rind's efforts as an editor and publisher. However, Fanny Wray's obituary lists the expectations for all women: she was an "affectionate and tender wife, dutiful and pious daughter, [and a] charitable and forgiving friend." Clarence Brigham suggests that some early newspapers charged for obituaries and marriage notices, but no evidence exists that Clementina Rind did so.[78] Instead, the consistent tone, syntax, and style of the many short unsigned obituaries in her paper suggest that Rind authored them. Obituary writing as a form of authorship is often overlooked or undervalued, but as Karen Kilcup has made vividly clear, obituaries represent "writing in the real world" and shared recognition of grief and loss.[79]

Other short new items appear to have been written by Rind as well. For example, in the 18 August 1774 issue, it seems likely that she wrote all of the news under the section heading titled "Williamsburg." Local news was a small but regular feature of her paper. In this instance, she explains that she did not have an opportunity to reprint in the current edition a proclamation from Governor Gage encouraging piety and virtue; she notes that her readers "need not repine, as it [the proclamation] appears but *poorly* to deserve a publication." She also explains that there was no colonial news: "Nothing particular has transpired with respect to our firm advocates, the Bostonians. Our next gazette shall include the most material paragraphs in the northern papers." She concludes the Williamsburg section by describing the anniversary exercises that had taken place the previous week at the College of William and Mary. These exercises included orations, which she describes in brief, as well as awards. Typically, longer letters and opinion pieces about the College of William and Mary appeared as signed items on the first page of the paper. In this case, however, the college news is unsigned and there is no indication that this report was submitted by a subscriber, which raises the tantalizing possibility that Rind served not only as editor but also as a reporter for the paper, a fact made more likely

by the particular attention she gives to the news from the College of William and Mary throughout her tenure as editor. If one were to mine other female-edited newspapers to unmask the author behind the editor, the local news sections, along with obituaries and advertisements, would be the first places to investigate.

Clementina Rind Memorialized and Her Legacy

Clementina Rind's grand plans for the *Gazette* were destined to remain largely unrealized, for her tenure as editor ended after just thirteen months. Rind had been ill in the month or two preceding her death, but her death seems to have been unexpected. In reporting her death, Purdie and Dixon describe her as suffering from a "tedious and painful illness," and they praise her as "a Lady of singular Merit, and universally esteemed."[80] Beginning with the Thursday, 29 September 1774 issue, John Pinkney, her husband's kinsman and her employee, formally took over the paper, with the following tagline appearing on the masthead: "Printed by John Pinkney, for the benefit of Clementina Rind's estate."

When Pinkney confessed to struggling to find an appropriate way to memorialize his relation,[81] several readers leaped into the breach with elegies for Rind. The first, an elegy of eighteen lines, appeared in the very next edition, a little more than a week after Rind had died, with this inscription: "Mr. PINKNEY, *If nothing which will better answer the design of the enclosed should come to hand, you may insert it in your next paper. I am, sir, your* CONSTANT READER." A second elegy, numbering 151 lines, appeared two weeks later as the leading text for that edition. The author of the longer elegy, simply styled "One of Your Readers," apologizes for the delay in producing the poem:

> Among the rest, permit a real friend
> The timely tribute of a tear to send;
> Nor blame my off'ring that it comes so late;
> My inward anguish was immensely great;
> And heart-felt grief affords no hasty theme,
> But rushes forth in a perpetual stream.[82]

Of the two elegies, the shorter is actually the better written and more interesting, establishing the criteria for public mourning. Setting aside the author's modesty, we find an intensely personal elegy written by someone who knew Rind well enough to understand that she balanced her public role as editor

with her affective relationships as "friend" and "mother." Indeed, she balanced them so well that she "[formed] a bright example." I reprint that elegy in its entirety.

ON THE DEATH OF Mrs. RIND
Ye mournful bards! why are your lyres unstrung!
Shall CLEMENTINA'S praise remain unsung!
Sooner the lowest of the tuneful throng
Shall raise his layes to elegiac song:
To her, blest shade, a plaintive verse is due,
Lov'd by the muses, and fair science too;
And sure a happy proof of this remains,
In her soft numbers, and harmonious strains.
With manly sense, and fortitude of mind,
The softer graces of her sex combin'd,
To form a bright example in her life,
Of friend, of mistress, daughter, mother, wife.
Aid us, religion! to receive the stroke,
Which fatally those dear connections broke.
When worth and genius prematurely die,
All men must give th' involuntary sigh;
But when that worth is intimately known,
We pay the tribute of a heart-felt groan.[83]

While broadsides might have served well for Phillis Wheatley's connections, what better place for an elegy for Clementina Rind to appear than in her own newspaper? Her elegist not only memorializes Rind but actively uses her example to imagine Revolutionary-era womanhood in a fashion consonant with Rind's editorial persona.

This elegy may hold the keys to the seeming ease with which Rind had assumed editorship of the *Virginia Gazette*. By becoming a newspaper editor—a public servant, as she often styled herself—Rind made herself an "intimately known" public figure. Given that this role violated every cultural precept regarding female behavior in early America, Rind, like Deborah Sampson, had to carefully negotiate gender roles. Rind justified her violation of gender roles as driven by both necessity (to fulfill her responsibilities as a mother) and usefulness (to fulfill her duty to her country). Rather than argue for the importance of Rind's work as an editor supplanting the usual expectations for colonial women, her elegist instead argues that Rind embodied both "manly sense and

fortitude of mind," while, in an Anne Bradstreet-like fashion, she fulfilled the duties "of friend, of mistress, daughter, mother, wife"—a claim seconded by Rind's other elegist.[84] According to "Constant Reader," she thought like a man, yet still fulfilled the responsibilities of a good woman.

Continuing the resonance with Anne Bradstreet, the elegist implies that Rind wrote poetry, describing her as "Lov'd by the muses," with "happy proof" of this claim illustrated by her "soft numbers, and harmonious strains." Her other elegist ("One of Your Readers") echoes this theme, calling Rind "The favorite of the nine." That elegist even implores Rind's shade for help, explaining that she

> Merits no less than sacred, sounding verse;
> Like thine own numbers, smooth, majestic, sweet,
> Should ev'ry line in just concordance meet.[85]

I have come across no published poetry that I can conclusively say belongs to Rind. Could she have authored some of the anonymous verse that appeared in her paper or in William's, in William's almanacs, or in Purdie and Dixon's newspaper? Or did she share her unpublished poetry as an exercise in sociability, such as those David Shields describes in *Civil Tongues*? Hints from the "Constant Reader" and "One of Your Readers" indicate that Rind shared her literary productions in some form, and that she was widely perceived as a gifted, skilled author.

Although John Pinkney's tenure as editor of the *Gazette* was not a disaster, neither was it a success. The burdens imposed on the last adult member of the Rind family were extraordinary. He had to run the press, edit the paper, and support the Rind children by himself. A few short months after Rind's death, John Pinkney advised his readers in the *Gazette*:

> It may not probably be amiss . . . to inform the friends of the late Mrs. Rind, that, according to her last request, I have taken every step in my power for the protection of her children. The ties of relationship demanded it of me, and I have submitted to the trial without murmuring; nor shall *futurity*, even if the honourable HOUSE OF BURGESSES should reject me as their servant, prevent me from having a watchful eye over their conduct, and affording whatever relief I may give them. It would be the height of ingratitude, that, after experiencing the most cordial affection from their parents, and who were nearly related to myself, that I should abandon or forsake them. Providence, whose gracious hand has put them under my direction, shall not, as far as I am able, be *disappointed* in its *choice*.[86]

Despite the martyr-like abjectness of this appeal, which is all the more striking when compared with Rind's own direct addresses to her subscribers, the House of Burgesses did not have the same confidence in John Pinkney that body held in William or Clementina Rind. Leona Hudak reports that after Pinkney lost the contract for government printing when it next came before the House of Burgesses, he was forced to sell off the business due to excessive debt. He then moved "to Halifax, North Carolina, to replace James Davis. This undertaking was equally unsuccessful, and within a year, he, too, was dead." After his death, Williamsburg's Masonic Lodge, to which William Rind had belonged, supported the Rind children until they were able to support themselves.[87]

Clementina Rind's success was no fluke. She succeeded as a printer and editor because of her skills, her business acumen, her principled leadership of the paper, her elegant writing, her stellar editing, her ability to keep the town's secrets, and her bold willingness to support the early stages of colonial rebellion. Knowledgeable and resourceful, she was intimately acquainted with the issues that animated colonial politics, and she cultivated professional relationships with many of Virginia's most important political figures, among them Thomas Jefferson and John Page. Owning up to no literary ambitions and professing instead the desire to be useful to the public while supporting her children earned Clementina the respect and confidence of the public. And yet her literary skills, wit, and ambition emerge when we peel back the facade of the self-effacing, disinterested colonial editor.

The particular opportunity for success that Rind enjoyed as a business owner, combining the highly skilled labor necessary to print the newspaper as well as the intellectual skills to write and edit it, would gradually disappear over the next few decades. This change resulted in part from the gradual separation that developed between the home and sites of commercial labor. Without the opportunity to learn from fathers and husbands, women had less access to printing technology that was becoming increasingly mechanized. That mechanization brought about the separation of the physical labor of printing from the intellectual labor of editing, as I discuss in the next chapter, and as a consequence, working men and women would no longer have such unfettered access to shaping the content of newspapers. New opportunities for publishing and reading would emerge, however. The mechanization of printing lowered its costs and increased the size of print runs, which meant that periodicals and newspapers flourished and more books than ever became available at lower cost. After the turn of the nineteenth century, especially in the antebellum era, opportunities increased for women as editors of periodicals. Clementina Rind

and her sister printers help lay the crucial groundwork for these new opportunities for writers and readers. Ironically, these nineteenth-century editorial opportunities were filled largely by the new middle class and the intellectual elite, not by the wives and daughters of men who worked with their hands.[88] Outsiders would frequently become their subjects, in works as varied as benevolent society tracts, trial transcripts, and reform society periodicals, and yet outsiders would continue to struggle to represent themselves in the literary marketplace, with even literate outsiders such as Harriet Jacobs requiring editors to authorize their personal narratives.

Chapter 6

When Barbers Wrote Books

Mechanic Societies and Authorship

This chapter brings *Empowering Words* full circle. For Americans outside the elite ranks of society such as Phillis Wheatley, Briton Hammon, John Marrant, Samson Occom, Deborah Sampson, and Clementina Rind, writing brought symbolic and social capital. For the mechanic class, however, the social capital they gained from organizing professionally and politically during and immediately after the American Revolution led to writing as they contended for their place in the national imaginary. "Strike the type-founder, the printer and the manufacturers of paper and parchment, out of the system," John Howland asked in 1810, "and what would become of the republic of letters?"[1] Mechanics believed they, not the financial, cultural, or political elite, comprised the very foundation of the Republic, and they persistently asserted the value of their contributions to nation building.

Mechanics, in the parlance of late eighteenth-century America, were independent, self-employed artisans, such as printers, barbers, tailors, coopers, and metalsmiths. While textual productions often shaped an individual identity, artisans discovered that writing also offered a potent means of articulating a collective identity. Their cohesive identity as working men emerged most clearly during the Revolutionary era, when broadsides articulating their interests and calling them to organize for patriotic purposes appeared in such urban areas as Boston, Providence, New York, and Philadelphia.[2] In 1774, "Brutus" spoke emphatically for the mechanics of New York, arguing in a broadside that they, the "*Majority* of the Community" (emphasis added), had the right to speak out against importation, defying merchant "dons" who "estimate[d] their private Gain above the public Weal."[3] Discontented with their outsider status, mechanics championed their significance through collective action, collaborative writing projects, and published lectures.

American artisans saw their interests as socially, economically, and politi-

cally distinct from both the merchant and landowning classes, and they sought to carve out a space for themselves in public discourse.[4] With the small profit margins they made from their goods and services, which served local markets rather than the export market, mechanics saw their livelihoods dangerously undermined by the increasingly heavy taxes of the 1760s and 1770s, especially those authorized by the 1765 Stamp Act. As mechanics banded together into local organizations during the Revolution, they used print to organize and publicize their activities. Their initial publications grappled with the subject of citizenship: how shall working men contribute to the union? Later, mechanic societies offered political and social outlets for their members through sponsorship of patriotic celebrations, advocacy for public education, and development of society libraries. Concerned with the here and now, rather than the eternal, and with the secular, rather than the religious, mechanic society productions illustrate the increasingly commercial and practical interests of American culture. Ardently interested in technology and quick to take advantage of members' skills, mechanic societies adroitly publicized their activities through a variety of printed media, including broadsides, handbills, membership certificates, event programs, and pamphlets. Exploring the productions of these mechanic societies from their founding in the post-Revolutionary era through 1815 allows us to see the ways in which secular print—beyond newspapers, periodicals, and almanacs—had become a constituent of the daily lives of ordinary working people. The evangelical empire that had patronized the writings of Phillis Wheatley, John Marrant, and Samson Occom still existed, but the onslaught of secular texts diluted its influence.

While there is considerable research examining mechanic organizations in terms of labor history and their involvement in the American Revolution, less attention has been directed toward a *literary* history of early American labor writings. I do not intend to provide a comprehensive overview of the literary productions of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century artisans, but rather aim at sketching the outlines of corporate-sponsored mechanic authorship—that is, the textual productions of men who were artisans first and writers second, and whose productions emerged from society-sponsored literacy events. In earlier decades, these working men might have lacked the opportunity, desire, or sense of purpose in writing. The collective, secular, and civic-oriented identity that emerged for artisans during the Revolution gave them new platforms for public discourse and the desire to advocate for themselves as independent producers in a society that valued productivity. Corporate-sponsored texts included both those that were authored collectively, such as

constitutions and bylaws, as well as those that were authored individually but printed at the behest of a mechanic society, such as the addresses delivered to society members. Although all these literacy events aimed to shape a respectable, patriotic corporate identity for society members based on their civic utility and a message of social uplift, mechanic societies also served as launching pads for individual authors such as the barber (and later civic leader) John Howland, the farmer-turned-printer (and later editor and politician) Joseph Buckingham, and printer-turned-politician Benjamin Russell. In formal society addresses, these three men dignify the labor of the artisan, celebrate his national economic importance, and argue for public education, firmly locating the mechanic in the national imaginary. Indeed, in these addresses, mechanics become the standard-bearers for modernity, supplanting the elite as the models for virtue and ingenuity that will drive the nation to greatness. This chapter first discusses the origins and goals of the mechanic societies through their collectively authored texts and then explores the individual productions of Howland, Buckingham, and Russell during the early years of the new United States.

The Origins of Mechanic Societies

Mechanic societies existed alongside other secular and fraternal societies in early America, but they differed in membership and focus from these other organizations. Unlike, say, New York City's Democratic-Republican Club, in which many artisans participated in the post-Revolutionary era, mechanic societies were not explicitly political; nor were they exactly fraternal, like the Freemasons.[5] While Freemasonry predated the mechanic societies in British America, membership in the eighteenth-century Freemasons was not limited to masons or other artisans. The same holds true for Boston's African Lodge, which sought to provide political and sociable outlets for black men who had been rejected by white Masons. The African Lodge, led by Prince Hall, formed what Joanna Brooks and others have termed black counterpublic spheres.[6] Mechanic societies shared with the Masons their belief in the biblical origins of their societies, but mechanic societies differed from both the white and the black Masons in important ways. Although the earliest mechanic societies were likely predominantly or all white, this was by default rather than rule, for the bylaws of early societies in Providence, Newport, and New York did not expressly prohibit black members. Mechanic societies did, however, require members to be free masters of their respective crafts or well-known and highly

recommended journeymen, which limited the pool of potential black members.[7] This requirement also eliminated craftsmen who were indentured or convict servants; the number of unfree laborers during the Revolutionary era was vast, as illustrated by any survey of advertisements in colonial newspapers—including Clementina Rind's *Virginia Gazette*.[8] Charles Olton, in *Artisans for Independence*, observes that "what gave cohesion to the mechanic class was the common interests of entrepreneurs,"[9] not their economic status or race. Yet where the Freemasons, whether white or black, were private fraternal organizations that selectively publicized their activities, mechanic societies were avowedly public organizations and sought public legibility—hence their widespread presence in print.

Unlike the old English guild system, American mechanic societies were not devoted to one craft, nor did they hold craft secrets. While these societies were organized around shared labor, they were not precursors of modern-day labor unions. To pinpoint the origins of American labor unions, most labor historians point to the activities of eighteenth-century single-craft organizations, particularly their efforts to set wages and call strikes to improve working conditions.[10] Mechanic societies steered clear of these politically explosive single-craft disputes. Instead, their original purpose was to put a positive face on the activities of independent, skilled working men *across* the trades and to support members in need.

Self-constituting models of voluntarism, mechanic societies mimicked, in many respects, the voluntarism of the nation itself. They developed constitutions and bylaws, defined their citizenry, engaged in paper balloting to elect members and officers, and developed a judicial process to mediate disputes. Mechanic society bylaws from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries tend to be very similar, as newer societies borrowed bylaw structures from older brother organizations in other areas. Newport's bylaws, for example, duplicate those of Providence almost verbatim, with a few minor emendations reflecting the local context. Prospective members of a mechanic society could be nominated by current members or, in some cases, even nominate themselves; members of the society then voted on nominees. While mechanic societies served the collective interests of their members, they also policed themselves and engaged in what we might call public relations outreach, for the local societies vowed to adjudicate complaints between member artisans and the general public, including anyone "who may think himself defrauded" by poor quality work or failure to complete work.[11] Through such processes, they sought to elevate the honor and credibility of the trades *as* trades.

Mechanic societies were decidedly urban phenomena, depending on concentrated populations. Although mechanics were politically active during the Revolution in southern cities such as Charleston,[12] their most sustained group activities occurred in the Northeast, which held the largest concentrations of free, skilled artisans. Active societies emerged during the Revolutionary and early Republic eras in such areas as Boston, New Haven, Providence, Newport, New York, and Philadelphia. Their activities varied by location; in general, however, all were formed to look after the interests of their members, whether political, social, or financial. Members—most commonly masters of their crafts—paid annual dues, which supported the activities of the local society. Other societies arose later to safeguard the interests of journeymen and apprentices, or of particular trades, such as Boston's Associated Housewright Society, which was founded in 1804.

Early nineteenth-century mechanic society activities concentrated on issues that might be broadly described as the economic and social uplift of their members. One such important duty was the payment of a death benefit to the families of deceased members to help cover burial expenses and to support widows and orphans. The societies also aided ill or indigent members. The bylaws of the New York society, for example, declare that "it is a leading motive of this Society, to relieve the distressed of their members . . . in want by sickness, or other misfortunes." To fulfill this goal, four members of their society were responsible for investigating the circumstances of indigent members and reporting "in writing to the board for their consideration."[13] By paying death benefits and relieving the indigent, artisan societies shared in activities common to the hundreds of small benevolent societies that arose across the early United States after the Revolution to fill the charitable gap between the activities of the local government and religious organizations. Indeed, formal addresses delivered at meetings of mechanic societies commonly admonish their members to support fellow members in need.[14]

Another broad way in which mechanic groups fostered uplift among their members was by establishing libraries. Such libraries included the Mechanic Library Society of New Haven, founded in 1793, and New York's Apprentices' Library, founded in 1820. Benjamin Franklin's Junto was an early model for this type of organization. Through reading, artisans could educate themselves to remedy the deficiencies in their formal schooling, as Franklin describes doing in his *Autobiography*. By acting collectively to establish libraries, mechanics helped not only themselves but also their fellows and advanced their crafts. We know of these kinds of uplift activities because mechanic societies were heav-

ily invested in technology. Printing a society's records both employed a local artisan and publicized the activities of that society.

The financial stratification of late eighteenth-century Boston provides a potent example of why working men needed a society to support their social, economic, and political interests. Caught between the very wealthy and poor immigrants and squeezed by British-era taxes, mechanics across the trades began to perceive their commonalities. As Allan Kulikoff explains:

> Before the Revolution, Boston had been an intensely unequal society. Wealthy men of high status dominated government and social life. The top 10 per cent of the taxpayers in 1771 owned nearly two-thirds of the wealth and held most of the important town offices. While demanding respect from the poor, many of the wealthy lived in the center of town, segregated from the impoverished. . . . And largely because many poor men and women were migrating from nearby towns, the poor in Boston were becoming more numerous. These trends continued and accelerated during the war and the Confederation period. Not a less stratified, but an even more unequal society developed in Boston after the Revolution.[15]

Attention to their common needs and goals helps clarify the social dynamic of a 1789 Boston parade in honor of George Washington. As Kulikoff recounts, in a striking illustration of social status: "The military, town and state officers, professional men, merchants and traders, and sea captains led the parade. They were followed by forty-six different artisan crafts, 'alphabetically disposed in order to give general satisfaction.' No mechanical art was deemed better than the next. Sailors brought up the rear," while laborers were excluded from the march.[16] Before a middle class existed, artisans insisted on a unique identity for themselves as *independent* workers.

Undoubtedly, mechanics gained significant social and political power through organizing, and yet the trades were equivalent with regard to neither their earning power nor social status. Despite such attempts as the organization of the Boston parade to treat the trades equally, not all trades offered equal opportunities to amass wealth or gain social status. Chandlers and printers, for example, tended to be among the trades with higher assessed wealth, while tailors and barbers tended to be among the poorer trades.[17] Further, even within particular trades, wealthier artisans were accorded more respect than poor ones and were more politically empowered. And yet working in a potentially poorer trade, as did barber John Howland, was not in itself disabling. Much depended on the individual artisan as well as the opportunities for sociability and public interaction presented by his craft.

Indeed, mechanic societies themselves offered prime opportunities for sociability among like-minded artisans. As John Howland would remark in 1799, the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers "comprises among its members delegates from almost every society . . . here we all meet and harmonize; perhaps there is no society except the very respectable brotherhood of Masons, constituted with equal advantages for cementing in one common bond of amity, benevolence and affection, the various descriptions of men which compose the great mass of the community."[18] Howland's phrase "the great mass of the community" reiterates what dozens of other mechanics would claim in broadsides, pamphlets, and speeches: mechanics felt themselves to be representative of the "mass," of the solid middle part of American cities. They believed this mass of men should set the moral tone of the nation, but the elite resisted this point of view and initially sought to squelch their ability to organize.

The visual display created by the Boston parade in honor of Washington—and similar parades held elsewhere in the 1780s and 1790s, such as Philadelphia's 1788 Grand Federal Procession—must have been both arresting and numerically informative, demonstrating the formation of a potentially vast middling class, empowered by technology.[19] The Grand Federal Procession, which celebrated the ratification of the Constitution, incorporated elaborate props and pageantry and stretched for a mile and a half. Merchants were assigned to the impressive "Federal Ship *Union*" float in the parade—a telling position suggesting that trade would bind the former colonies together. Mechanics followed them in the 33rd grouping, bearing tableaus and banners symbolic of their respective crafts. Francis Hopkinson notes: "The order of the several trades, except house carpenters and those concerned in the construction and fitting out a ship, was determined by lot."[20] Individual floats depicted artisans at work at their respective crafts. To understand the extraordinary nature of this spectacle, imagine the printers, booksellers, and stationers bearing a functioning press in their tableau, on which they actually printed a copy of an ode written by Hopkinson for the occasion, handing out broadsides to spectators.[21]

While leading artisans welcomed this particular opportunity to organize and interact in the public in a dignified fashion, the elite continued to see such organizing efforts on the part of mechanics as threatening the established order. In the early post-Revolutionary era, loosely organized societies had functioned as street theater or drama, making spectacles of themselves for political purposes. As Susan G. Davis explains: "The streets enabled workers, poor people, and racial minorities to broadcast messages to large numbers of

people. . . . The street was shared more equally than any other space." [22] The elite anxiously observed these activities and sought to limit artisanal influence, even as mechanic activities moved indoors and assumed a more sober cast.[23] As an example, consider the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association. Founded in 1795, the Association repeatedly petitioned the General Court for incorporation, but Kulikoff contends that "the legislature feared the group's potential political power and three times refused to grant incorporation. The Association finally succeeded in obtaining a charter in 1806."[24]

The Massachusetts society's success in ultimately gaining a charter reflects both the increased recognition of their power as well, perhaps, as a change in their tactics. By the early nineteenth century, mechanic societies across the Northeast had become well organized, and they prided themselves on their benevolent activities and their solemnized, formal celebrations, complete with Scripture readings and hymn singing, activities far removed from the street theater of earlier years. Invitations to political leaders offered the societies the opportunity to demonstrate their corporate transformation into middling class respectability.

Despite economic disparities among trades, skilled laborers continued to see themselves as having more in common with one another, given that they used these skills in physical labor, than with workers in other professions with similar incomes. This similarity stemmed largely from their defensive sense of themselves as *producers* in a society in which unproductive labor, such as that of the lawyer or merchant, was increasingly rising to the fore. As I have discussed elsewhere, late eighteenth-century American culture was deeply conflicted about the ideal economy for the new nation. Were they to be a nation of producers via farming and artisanal trades, or a nation of merchants? While farming and artisanal labor were seen as both useful and productive, many American economic thinkers believed lawyers and merchants were essentially unproductive in that they merely arranged, transported, or brokered the labor of others, without producing anything themselves. Further, while mechanics slowly but steadily produced wealth, international trade offered the opportunity for sudden gain.[25] Thomas Cooper, who taught political economy at the University of South Carolina, relates in *Political Arithmetic* (1798) his concern about rapid accumulation: "Wealth thus suddenly obtained is in many respects detrimental to the community. It operates as a lottery: it tempts capital into trade beyond prudent bounds . . . it introduces ostentation, luxury and pride, and manners out of harmony with republican principles."[26] "Political arithmetic," as a field of study, Marcus Rediker explains, "was an early effort to analyze

capitalism as a system, to calculate the direction and magnitude of social and economic forces, and to plot a course for the accumulation of capital and the extension of national power in a turbulent, expanding economic universe."[27] Mechanic societies enabled members to see themselves collectively as an important part of society, with their steady, productive labor leading to national economic stability.

Alfred Young has described the economic and moral values shared by artisan societies as a form of artisan republicanism, "a conviction that mechanics were citizens entitled to equal rights and to an equal voice in their government, a pride of craft, and a pride in labor as the source of wealth."[28] The sense of efficacy that resulted from their productivity and usefulness was undermined at times, however, by individuals' sense of inadequacy regarding their educations. Most mechanics had limited opportunities for formal education and were largely self-taught. Consequently, they sought improved educational opportunities for future generations and believed that enhanced educational opportunities would better their crafts and their contributions to the nation. Demonstrating their harmony with republican principles, mechanic society addresses regularly celebrate their productivity and inventiveness, elevating artisan skills and mechanical arts alongside the creative arts as hallmarks of civilization itself.

Exemplary Mechanics: John Howland, Joseph Tinker Buckingham, and Benjamin Russell

Like most fraternal organizations, artisan organizations held various events throughout the year, such as Fourth of July celebrations and parades, to highlight their patriotism. Particular to mechanic societies, however, were annual, biennial, or triennial formal association meetings, which were powerful literacy events. Each meeting was organized around an individual address that had the express intent of raising the status of the mechanic. To that end, mechanics from other towns commonly appeared as guests at these meetings as a sign of unity. Local notables were invited as well to witness these dignified proceedings.[29] The extent to which such meetings functioned as literacy events is evident in the addresses emerging from several meetings of the Massachusetts and Providence societies in the late eighteenth century and the first two decades of the nineteenth century. While other mechanic societies held similar annual celebrations, those associated with the Massachusetts and Providence societies are particularly well documented and preserved, while also being typi-

cal of such societies nationally.[30] As speaker after speaker asserted in these addresses, mechanics comprised a large slice of urban America, and they believed that sheer numbers entitled them to participate in public discourse. Indeed, Charles Olton claims that in pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia, for example, artisans comprised as much as 30 percent of the population.[31] Before discussing the content of the mechanic society addresses, however, I need to introduce three individuals who figured prominently in mechanic circles: John Howland, a member of the Providence Society, and Benjamin Russell and Joseph T. Buckingham, both members of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association. While their friends and associates agreed that these particular mechanics were much more skilled as writers and speakers than their fellows, Howland, Russell, and Buckingham were typical of the artisan class in that each emerged from humble, even impoverished beginnings with only minimal formal schooling. They had no powerful relatives or connections to the elite. Instead, traditional literacy based on the Bible, autodidacticism, and belief in hard work and the innate value of labor empowered each to speak for the working man. Membership in a mechanic society offered each a public platform to assert these values and to advocate for free public education.

John Howland (1757–1854) embodied all of these values, ultimately using his mechanic affiliation to advocate for free public education, because he believed the nation owed such an education to its workers. Howland was apprenticed to a barber as a young man and, except for service in the Continental Army under General Washington, fighting at Trenton and Princeton, he continued working at his trade as an adult. In his later years, Howland became an important civic leader in Providence, Rhode Island, active in education, banking, and historic preservation. Much of what we know about Howland derives from *The Life and Recollections of John Howland, Late President of the Rhode Island Historical Society* (1857), compiled by Edwin M. Stone. Stone collaborated closely with Howland, who began his memoirs at the urging of family and friends when he was quite elderly, but Howland was unable to complete the work on his own due to ill health and the physical challenge of holding a pen. *The Life and Recollections of John Howland* draws upon his handwritten memoirs, a large number of letters written by and to Howland, as well as many of his published works, including obituaries, letters, and essays written for the local newspapers in support of his pet projects. Some of the narrative is written as standard third-person biography, while a portion appears as free indirect discourse, and other sections transcribe Howland's responses to Stone's questions or excerpt his published works. Organized around Howland's inter-

ests and activities, the book is only loosely chronological, although the events described within each chapter are organized chronologically. The best source of information about Howland, his *Life and Recollections* also provides a masterful look at a nearly one-hundred-year span of New England cultural history from the perspective of a working man.

John Howland felt himself to be deeply rooted in New England's history and, for this reason, a stakeholder in the new nation. He was a fourth-generation American-born descendant of the John Howland who sailed with the original English settlers at Plymouth and signed the Mayflower Compact—and whom William Bradford describes as being knocked overboard but miraculously saved by God's providence when he was able to grab hold of the topsail halyards in midfall.[32] All of mechanic John Howland's activities in the early national era bear out that historical awareness and sense of purposefulness. While his immediate family was only modestly economically successful, Howland nonetheless felt himself to be deeply invested in New England. Born in Newport, Rhode Island, Howland was taught at home to read and write, attending school briefly at age nine. His biographer describes him as following a pattern of intensive reading that scholars identify as typical of the time: "His principal reading book was a black letter bible, printed in London, 1610. This in connexion with two other versions in common type, he read several times through. . . . These, with the Psalter and spelling book, comprised the entire list of school books for the first twelve years of his life."[33] Howland attended the Reverend Samuel Hopkins's church and a Saturday afternoon religion class led by Sarah Osborn—the same Reverend Hopkins and Sarah Osborn who supported Phillis Wheatley's poetic career.[34] Although Howland's attendance at Osborn's religious classes in the late 1760s predates Wheatley's most active writing period, it is intriguingly likely that he might have read in the *Newport Mercury* her first published poem, "On Messrs Hussey and Coffin." As a teenaged apprentice, Howland educated himself, with composition presenting the most challenge. His biographer notes: "He did not confine himself simply to Franklin's process for young beginners of recasting in his own language the thoughts of authors he had read, and then restoring them to their original dress, but sometimes took for his subject a story to which he had listened, and wrote down the exact words of the narrator."[35]

At age twelve, Howland was apprenticed to a cousin, Providence barber Benjamin Gladding. Although his apprenticeship ended his opportunities for formal education, Howland's profession enabled him to continue his education informally via sociable practices. Howland's biographer describes Gladding's

shop in this fashion: "Receiving the patronage of the most intelligent and influential citizens, it became in effect a literary and political exchange. Here, both before and after the commencement of the revolution, were discussed the prospects of the country and the current events of the day. . . . By their conversation [Howland] was made familiar with the personal traits of the ruling spirits of the revolutionary period."[36] Stone's comment offers fascinating insight into late eighteenth-century culture. While some elite might summon the barber to their homes, the barbershop offered a special opportunity for sociability and exchange between the working-class artisan and the elite—remarkably similar to the opportunity that Clementina Rind found through her Williamsburg print shop. Both instances remind us that the distance between the elite and workers was much smaller in colonial towns such as Providence and Williamsburg than in a metropolis such as London, where artisans might seldom interact with the ruling elite in public spaces.

Rather than disabling Howland from rising socially due to the lower earning power typical for this craft, being a barber brought him into contact with a wide range of acquaintances, from the other artisans of the town to its elite. After Howland completed his military service and opened his own shop, he continued to interact with military, religious, and civic leaders in his capacity as a barber, dressing the hair of notables ranging from Benedict Arnold to Reverend James Manning, the first president of Brown University.[37] These interactions undoubtedly contributed to his rise as a civic leader. Soon after he had gone into business for himself, several "leading citizens" advised him to charge higher prices than usual, to give "his shop a somewhat select character." Stone reports that his shop "soon became the resort of the prominent and influential politicians of every shade of opinion, as well as the professional gentlemen of the town and vicinity. And thus was again opened to him, on a broader and more agreeable basis, a coveted opportunity for increasing his store of political information."[38] Barbering gave Howland a unique opportunity to engage other men in an easy intimacy. Clearly, he was adept at offering service without being servile. Consequently, Howland himself soon became a leader in the civic life of Providence, serving as the town treasurer and a bank treasurer, activities that grew out of his connection with the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers. An antiquarian with a deep interest in genealogy, Howland also served for decades as an officer of the Rhode Island Historical Society, including twenty-one years as its president, and through this office, he preserved many papers of the Mechanics and Manufacturers society.[39]

Joseph Tinker Buckingham (1779–1861) emerged from even more humble

origins than John Howland although, coincidentally, he also was the descendant of a Mayflower passenger, Thomas Tinker. Buckingham was almost entirely self-educated, as a consequence of his family's poverty. His father, who was first a cobbler and later a Connecticut tavern keeper, was a victim of currency depreciation after the Revolution and at his death left destitute his wife and children (eight of the ten were still at home).[40] His mother could not afford to send the young Buckingham to school regularly, so she taught him to read and write at home using the *New England Primer* and the Bible.[41] To relieve the crushing burden of poverty on Buckingham's mother, town selectmen indentured him to a farmer until he was sixteen. Buckingham's circumstances were much better than those of Patience Boston or Deborah Sampson. He speaks fondly of the elderly couple to whom he was apprenticed. They did not tolerate idleness, but he recalls that they treated him as they would have a grandchild. Nonetheless, as an elderly man himself, he recalled the trauma of being separated from his mother and brother, noting that the anniversary of his being bound out—11 July 1786—never passed without his recollection.[42]

For Buckingham, traditional biblical literacy was ultimately empowering in his career as an editor. Buckingham attended school irregularly while living with the farmer, estimating it to be "no more than twelve days in a year," until he was fourteen, when he attended regularly for several months.[43] The rest of his education derived from his study of religious texts and old almanacs; he read aloud daily to the farmer and his wife, and, in an often-quoted passage, claims: "I have no doubt that I read the Bible through *in course* at least a dozen times before I was sixteen years old."[44] From this course of study, Buckingham achieved an "early familiarity with the language, style and phraseology of the Bible,"[45] skills he put to use after he completed his indenture to the farmer and briefly apprenticed himself to printer David Carlisle in Walpole, New Hampshire. Ending what was an unsatisfactory experience, Buckingham then began an apprenticeship with Thomas Dickman and the *Greenfield Gazette*.[46] Printing was a successful means to an end for Buckingham, who aspired to be an editor.[47] He engaged in a number of publishing ventures, but the most successful were the *New England Galaxy and Masonic Magazine*, which he ran from 1817 to 1828, and the daily *Boston Courier*, which he edited from 1824 to 1848. He also served in the Massachusetts Legislature and published *Specimens of Newspaper Literature* (1850, 2 vols.) and *Personal Memoirs and Recollections of Editorial Life* (1852, 2 vols.).

Like Buckingham, Benjamin Russell (1761–1845) was a printer who used his printing business as a stepping-stone to becoming an editor. The son of a stone-

mason, Russell attended the common schools in Boston as a child. After Russell informally followed the colonial militia for several months in 1775 without contact with his parents, his father apprenticed him to Isaiah Thomas, who in the spring of that year relocated his printing office from Boston to Worcester.[48] Russell was then fourteen. Although today we remember Thomas as the venerable printer who founded the American Antiquarian Society and wrote *The History of Printing in America*, Russell's biographer explains: "Mr. Thomas was not, at that time, in very affluent circumstances. During the first year or two of his apprenticeship, Russell, with a fellow-apprentice, slept in a garret, over the printing-office, on the rags that were taken in from time to time for the paper-maker."[49] Russell served as Thomas's substitute when Thomas was drafted into the Continental Army. Although he never fought in a battle, Russell was one of the troops who guarded Major John André at his execution, and he wrote a description of the events.[50] After he completed his apprenticeship, he partnered with William Warden to publish *The Massachusetts Centinel, and the Republican Journal* in March 1784, with the motto "Uninfluenced by Party, we aim to be just."[51] In 1790, Russell enlarged the paper and changed its name to the *Columbian Centinel*. Jeffery L. Pasley describes this incarnation of Russell's paper as "[serving] as the chief article supplier for many other New England newspapers."[52] With his military service, work as a printer and publisher, and long-term membership in the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, Russell situated himself for elective success. Pasley notes that "unlike most Federalist printers, Russell pursued a political career in his own right, becoming a prominent local officeholder beginning in 1805. Besides positions on the Boston School Committee, Board of Health, and as a city alderman, he represented Boston in the state legislature from 1805 to 1835 continuously, capping his career with a term on the Executive Council."[53]

As printers, one of the trades with potentially higher earning power, Buckingham and Russell might seem to have had advantages over other artisans in rising socially. And yet, as Stephen Botein reminds us, "however lofty his aspiration or diversified his business, it was inescapable that a colonial printer had been brought up to work with his hands. . . . In the colonies, as in both London and the provinces, printers had to face the hard, discouraging fact that in the eyes of many neighbors, especially those who claimed to be 'gentlemen,' they were by training mechanics, without full legitimacy as men of independent intellect and creed."[54] The material success of the artisan obscured, but did not erase, his history of having been unfree by virtue of his indenture. Alfred Young adds: "Even masters in the 'higher' trades were not quite respectable in the eyes

of 'gentlemen' who put 'Esq.' after their names."[55] Despite their physical labor, printers were especially valued and seen as playing an integral role during the Revolution, but their social prestige faded after the war as printing and publishing became separate functions. Pasley reports: "Journeyman printers found it more and more difficult to meet their traditional goal of owning their own printing office. The trade became identified ever more firmly with its manual labor aspects, as the intellectual activities associated with publishing were taken over by educated editors and entrepreneurs who soon gained exclusive use of the title 'publisher.'"[56] While these changes diminished opportunities for individual mechanics, the nearly simultaneous mechanization of printing brought down costs, enabling American periodicals finally to become financially stable, which in turn opened up the realm of editing to increasing numbers of women and nonelite men.

Buckingham seems to have had this division between printing and editing in mind when he wrote his *Personal Memoirs and Recollections of Editorial Life*. In a passage worth quoting at some length, he eloquently defends the combination of physical and intellectual labor required of the eighteenth-century printer who simultaneously functioned as an editor. He recalls the

> physical and mental toil by day and by night, which brought neither wealth nor reputation to the laborer, though it transformed many an illiterate production into a shape fit for the public eye, which would otherwise have been cast aside as discreditable to its author. Many persons, who condescend to illumine the dark world with the sparklings of their genius through the columns of a newspaper, and others who publish sermons and tracts, religious, moral and political, little think of the labor of the printer, who (perhaps nearly suffocated with the smoke of a lamp, and with an aching head, and eyes inflamed and enfeebled from intense application,) sits up till midnight, or till day-light, to correct his false grammar, bad orthography, and worse punctuation. I have seen the arguments of lawyers, who stood in high repute as scholars, sent to the printer in their own hand-writing,—chirography which would defy the sagacity of the most inveterate investigator of ancient hieroglyphics. . . . I once saw the manuscript of a sermon in the hands of a printer, which was entirely without points, and every line began with a capital letter, as if it had been poetry. Suppose these productions had been printed as they were written. The disgrace would have fallen upon the printer. He would have been called an illiterate blockhead, better fitted for a wood-sawyer than a printer, and the author would still enjoy his reputation as a scholar, and receive the sympathy of his readers as a man injured by the printer's ignorance.[57]

Before the mechanization of printing and the emergence of the split between the functions of printer and editor, being a good printer required knowledge of standard grammar, punctuation, and spelling, even though most printers had limited opportunities for formal schooling relative to those of higher status that they served, such as ministers and lawyers. As Buckingham makes clear, the early printer was both printer *and* editor, even in the absence of the title. Despite the wry humor permeating this recollection at the "sparkling of genius" of semiliterate and lazy lawyers and ministers who should have known better, more than a trace of resentment lingered for Buckingham at the way in which the physical labor and editing skills of the artisan were devalued in favor of the more "pure" intellectual work of writing.

As these brief biographies illustrate, Buckingham, Russell, and Howland stayed close to their artisan roots. Each scrupulously maintained his connections to the artisan community, and each used the professional connections gained through his employment to speak publicly on behalf of the mechanic class. A primary marker of success for each man was being invited to deliver a formal address to his respective local mechanic society. These invitations represented both a benediction—an acknowledgment of the success of a particular mechanic and the confidence the mechanic community held in him—and a public platform that helped each move into another phase of his public career as a writer and speaker. Armed with knowledge of the collective goals of the artisan societies, as well as the backgrounds of the individual speakers, we now have the context to understand their formal addresses.

Celebrating a World of "Mechanic Creation"

Mechanic society anniversary addresses followed similar patterns that remain visible to us today because of the print practices surrounding these events. Elected officers of the organization carefully organized the program for a meeting. Broadsides typically announced the meeting and provided a highlight of the planned events; these were likely distributed to the regular membership. At the actual meeting, printed broadside programs, usually oversized and printed on heavy paper as souvenirs, informed attendees of the "Order of Exercises," which generally included Scripture readings (especially from Psalms), hymns, a formal speech, and celebratory poetry written specially for the occasion. To be invited by the officers to deliver the formal address, which occupied an hour or more of the event, was a signal honor. Subsequent to the meeting, the society

paid for the publication of the address, along with the rest of the program, in an attractive pamphlet.

While the delivery of the address was the central feature of the meeting, this printed text was equally important to the society because it offered another means of honoring the speaker while also making his message available to a different audience. It is not clear if these pamphlets were sold at the printer's shop or if they were disseminated to members via a meeting, but clearly they were intended as public documents. A prefatory page in each of these addresses indicates that a copy of the address was formally requested by the society from the speaker. The pro forma requests to the speaker "for a copy for the press"—that is to give to a printer for publication—indicate that the purposes of the address and its publication were to honor the speaker, publicize the activities of the society, and reinforce the speaker's claims that mechanics were central to the development of national identity and a more egalitarian state.

Why did the societies' gestures of appreciation take the particular form of publication of a pamphlet or small book? Why not a plaque or certificate or an engraved pitcher or some other sort of memento?[58] Clearly, print—and the book form in particular—held a special, dignifying valence for artisan societies. Often these pamphlets listed members and noted their professions, thus dignifying the entire membership. Likewise, pamphlets often included cumulative lists of previous society officers; this was the case with the publication of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic society address for 1809, which began its officer list with Paul Revere as the organization's first president in 1795. Naming officers and members enabled readers to use the pamphlet as a directory, thereby encouraging members to employ one another's services, but this naming also exhibited the professionalization of the artisan and his civic sensibility.

Equally as important as the medium, however, was the public nature of the document. If print once honored the dead in the form of the broadside elegy, it now honored the living by making it possible to disseminate the knowledge and opinions of the working man, who very well might not otherwise seek publication. In the remarkable instances discussed here, however, the speakers of these addresses would go on to have writing or public speaking careers: Howland would become a civic leader, Buckingham would become a newspaper editor, and Russell would become an editor and politician. Corporate sponsorship was crucial in encouraging each man. In these instances, the mechanic society functioned as a launching pad for those men to move beyond private enterprise into opinion making and policy shaping.

The ways in which this material was preserved indicate that the collectors

viewed these addresses as momentous events. While John Howland as an antiquarian was careful to preserve materials from the Providence association, others preserved mechanic society productions as well. Several copies of the formal addresses to the Massachusetts mechanic society held in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society—including that delivered by John Fairbanks—bear the inscription "Hon. Josiah Quincy, member of Congress Washington City," where Quincy was serving as a member of the House of Representatives for Massachusetts. Quincy studied law and had no professional association with the mechanics. While Quincy might well have requested copies of these pamphlets—a distinct possibility given anxiety among the elite over the growing political influence of what would become the working class—it is more likely that he received an invitation to attend the annual celebrations and then was sent these pamphlets as courtesy copies, intended to raise the profile of the society among political leaders and the general public. This fascinating dynamic illustrates the democratizing potential of print in the early Republic, a time when a literate but largely self-educated working man could deliver a formal address, have it printed under the auspices of a professional society, and have it read by a Harvard-educated politician, who deemed it significant enough to preserve. What a remarkable moment in the democratization of print!

Rather than discussing the mechanic addresses individually or by author, I read these documents appearing just before and after the turn of the century collectively to tell the larger story of how they framed the dignity, utility, and moral and social value of the artisan. The format of these addresses encourages this kind of collective reading, for they seldom were delivered in isolation and instead were part of carefully planned programs. These addresses feature ritualistic elements. Most mechanic society addresses follow a typical pattern, vehemently arguing that the skilled working men of the United States embody both the spirit and the backbone of the nation. These speeches typically begin by invoking the biblical origins for mechanical inventions and tracing how the mechanical arts drove the evolution of human culture. Subsequent to the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden, mechanical inventions—tools such as the spear, bow and arrow, and hoe—enabled humans to hunt and then to farm, an origin story the mechanics share with the Freemasons. Another touchstone in the history of the crafts is the leadership of King Solomon in constructing the Temple, a historical origin story that mechanic societies also shared with the Masons.[59] The addresses then tend to jump forward to the role of the mechanic in shaping the nation. By looking at several mechanic ad-

dresses, especially those by Joseph Buckingham, John Howland, and Benjamin Russell, we can see the various ways this typical framework manifested around the turn of the century.

In his 1815 address to the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, farmer-turned-printer Joseph T. Buckingham begins by tracing the origin of the mechanic to Adam and Eve's expulsion from the Garden of Eden: "Driven from the friendly bowers of Paradise, a naked and houseless wanderer, his inventive genius was roused from its infant slumber; and, by means of the mechanic arts, supplied his wants, furnished him with weapons for defence and attack, and erected a habitation to screen him from the inclemencies of the weather."[60] In this understanding, necessity truly was the mother of invention, enabling humans to house and feed themselves, but invention itself becomes a marker of cultural maturation.

Confident about the value of the artisan, as he would exhort in this address and maintain throughout his career, Buckingham was less sanguine about his abilities as an author and speaker. While the orators of mechanic society addresses typically demonstrate humility in their prefaces by thanking the hosting society, at this early point in his career, Buckingham seems to have found the transition from printing others' words to writing his own daunting. Apologizing at length for his failings as an author, he notes that his address "was written at short and broken intervals, during a period of distressing embarrassment in the prosecution of the business of my profession." Part of his anxiety stems from his sense of inadequacy as an author. His prefatory note indicates that part of his address was derived from the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia* article entitled "Arts." He explains: "In selecting historical facts, I have not always thought it indispensable to vary the language of the writers, from whom they were taken; and from the part, which I exclusively claim, I can expect to acquire little reputation for literature. It is altogether unfit for publication."[61] Buckingham does in fact quote at length from the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia* without attribution. Where today we might consider the absence of specific attribution, other than in the prefatory note, as bordering on plagiarism, his usage was common at that time. Hannah Mather Crocker, widow of a Massachusetts clergyman and advocate for a biblically based version of women's rights, follows a similar strategy of compilation in her 1818 *Observations on the Real Rights of Women*. Buckingham's anxiety stems not from his heavy reliance on the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia* but from his sense that his own contributions suffered in comparison to the productions of professional "authors"—hearkening back to that image he held of himself as an artisan first and foremost. Buckingham eventually

overcame his sense of inadequacy as he segued into a career as an editor, but he felt keenly his lack of formal education.

If speakers generally agreed on the origin of the mechanic in the wake of the expulsion from the Garden of Eden and the role of the mechanic in building Solomon's temple, the next point of singular importance on which they concurred was the development of printing. While they do not discount the production of knowledge, mechanic societies saw printing as integral to the *spreading* of such knowledge. Most mechanic societies' origin narratives then tend to jump quickly to national origins via the discovery of the Americas, an event that they credit to the navigational tools used by Christopher Columbus, rather than any particular genius or heroism on the part of Columbus—an interesting divergence from the treatment of Columbus in other contemporaneous works, such as Joel Barlow's 1787 *The Vision of Columbus*. Based on the mechanics' past and future contributions to nation building, James Ellison's "Ode," which he delivered following Joseph Buckingham's *Address* at the 1815 meeting of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, advises:

> For the MECHANIST'S brow twine the laurel of fame,
> For Columbia to him owes the *base* of her name.[62]

Ellison, in arguing that "Columbia to him owes the *base* of her name," refers to a discrete historical moment, Columbus's use of navigational tools as the founding moment for the nation. This national origin story subsumes the Portuguese refinements of this technology, Columbus's own Genoese birth, and his affiliation with the Spanish state. Valorizing Columbus also enabled the mechanics to ignore the British origins of the new United States. Columbus instead becomes their mascot, a man whose chief genius lay in his embrace of new navigational technology, thereby giving mechanics a crucial stake in discovery. Believing in themselves and in the nation embodied as Columbia, artisans brim over with optimism about their own potential contributions to nation building. Buckingham sees American mechanics as continuing this great—one might even say epic—tradition of invention and industry, qualities that would refute the Comte de Buffon's and Abbé Raynal's descriptions of North America as a "degenerated" or contracted land.[63]

Mechanics saw themselves as the heralds and bringers of modernity. If America once deserved its reputation as a degenerated land, the mechanics lay the blame squarely at the feet of the native population as they promote the role of the mechanic in expanding the new United States. Speakers frequently use the pre-Columbian Indian population as an object lesson in the value of

the mechanic. John Howland, in an 1810 lecture to the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers, reasons: "In shewing the importance of the mechanic arts, not only to agriculture but to philosophy, science and literature, we may advert for a moment to the state of the natives of this country at the time our fathers arrived from England. . . . Our ancestors found them with a piece of raw hide cut out with a sharp stone . . . and this was obliged to suffice them instead of all the art of the tanner . . . instead of the convenient and comfortable habitations in which we dwell; theirs were the sordid and smoky hut." On the verge of the Industrial Revolution, mechanics saw the absence of metal working as trapping the indigenous peoples of the United States in the "savage state." Howland concludes this passage by arguing that "the mechanic arts struck into existence the first spark which illuminated the dark and dreary night of the savage state."[64] In this instance, we see that the struggle for outsiders to represent themselves in the public sphere and to find a place for themselves in the nation sometimes required the dispossession of others. Howland here participates in the discursive process of conquering the "savage" Indian.[65] It is not the military that will ultimately vanquish the Indian, nor the Christian missionary: it is the mechanic who will permanently alter his way of life.

James Ellison's "Ode" likewise sees the native peoples as outliers in the development of mechanic crafts, but he sees this disparity as justification for national expansion into native territories. Ellison, whose play *The American Captive, or, Siege of Tripoli* was performed in Boston in 1811 and published in 1812, was avowedly patriotic.[66] While Ellison's politics were progressive in that his plays attack slavery in any form, he was not similarly progressive with regard to the sovereignty of Native Americans. Indeed, he saw dispossessing Indians of North America as central to the progress of the nation:

> Where the Temples of Piety now proudly stand,
> The *wigwams* of nature's sons spoke desolation;
> Where the savage-built pyre once gleam'd round the land,
> Has arisen a WORLD of MECHANIC creation.
> Then to ART be the lay,
> Whose luminous ray
> O'er our primeval night shed the lustre of day—[67]

Unlike his fellow poets Philip Freneau and Lydia Sigourney, Ellison rejected a Romantic view of the native peoples' relationship to the natural world, instead seeing them as ensnared in a barely post-Edenic state. For Ellison, as for William Cullen Bryant in "The Prairies," Indian structures signified antiquity

and cultures whose time had simply passed, while "Mechanic Creation" heralded modernity itself. In this view of conflicting cultures, the technological innovations of the artisan, rather than military force, will vanquish the native population, as the "luminous ray" of creation and invention drives away the darkness of the "primeval," or savage state. Of course, if their way of life were altered, Native Americans might no longer require large reservations, which would open up additional land to white settlement. Ellison's work points forward to Thomas Cole's series of five paintings collectively titled *The Course of Empire* (1833–36); the light of civilization transforms the darkness of the savage state to reach its peak in the third painting, *The Consummation of Empire,* only to darken again as the empire collapses in the fourth and fifth paintings in the series. Writing at the onset of U.S. imperialism, however, Ellison's "Ode" foresaw only the enlightening potential of imperialism, driven by the engine of artisanal invention. This view of artisanal modernity brought dignity to the inventiveness and labor of the working man and created space for him in the national imaginary, for virtually every mechanic society address argues that the work of the mechanic is crucial to national expansion.

Arguments in favor of the value of mechanic productions simultaneously defended the rights of workers in opposition to the elites. Workers came to identify themselves as "we the people": patriotic, industrious, and virtuous.[68] John Howland, in the second of two thirty-minute addresses delivered before a mixed-sex audience in Providence in 1799,[69] first traces the intertwined political and economic history of the trades in Europe, before arriving at his discussion of American mechanics. Excoriating Thomas Jefferson for his anti-manufacturing bias in *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Howland explains that those Virginians and North Carolinians "who *can* read" (emphasis in original)—seemingly an intentional jab at the lower literacy rates of the South—"look up to [Jefferson] with as much veneration as the idolatrous Jews did to the golden calf." "But what," Howland asks, "will the man say who knows the Manufactures of the country to be most essential to its interests and prosperity!" This anti-manufacturing bias, driven by "the prejudices, and the narrow policy of the great landholders in the middle and southern States," Howland argues, blocked the incorporation of the mechanic society in New York (and presumably in Boston, where there was similar delay in recognition). Arguing for the necessity of such societies, Howland claims: "such an union will cause us to respect ourselves, and that is the first step towards being respected by others.—By strengthening the bands of social order amongst ourselves we cannot fail to add our testimony of respect for the government of our country,

which, considering ourselves as individuals, or as members of civil society, will ever be entitled to our steadfast support."[70]

Indeed, mechanic societies were not shy in arguing for the importance of mechanics nationwide in creating a strong economic system. Benedict Anderson's seminal work on newspapers indicates that they were crucial to the creation of modern nationalism because they created a feeling among readers of belonging to an imagined state.[71] The constitutions and bylaws of the mechanic societies functioned in a similar fashion, as the local mechanic societies imagined themselves acting in concert to support national interests.[72] The Newport association, for example, acknowledges in its founding documents "our Brethren, the Mechanics and Manufacturers of the Cities of Philadelphia and New-York, and of the Towns of Boston and Providence."[73] Repeatedly, these societies justify themselves, as did the Providence association, by explaining the national implications of their work: "The Mechanics and Manufacturers of the Town of Providence, in New-England, viewing such Associations of the first Importance, and sensible of the real Utility, in the Infancy of our Country as an independent Nation, of establishing its Credit, by the Goodness of its Manufactures (as well those used at Home, as those made for Exportation)—being also anxious to prevent, as far as in their Power, the Drain of Specie consequent on the Importation of the Manufactures of foreign Countries."[74] As self-employed businessmen, mechanics grasped the complexities of growing a national economy. The Newport society borrowed this rationale verbatim and similarly argued that patriotic interests should motivate Americans to buy domestic manufactures.[75]

Mechanics saw their public significance not as limited to the economic stability of the nation but extending to its creativity and inventiveness, especially the technological innovation that figured modernity. Artisan training and artisan-created materials are crucial to invention and scientific experimentation. Howland asks, "could Franklin have extracted the electric fluid from the clouds, if the paper-maker and the manufacturer of cordage had not furnished the materials for his kite? . . . could Rittenhouse, with all his skill in astronomy, have constructed the orrery which has placed him among the sons of fame, if he had not served an apprenticeship to a cabinet-maker? . . . could Bulfinch, with all his theory of architecture, have placed the superb State-house on Beacon-hill, if the mason and the carpenter had not been there?" Mechanics did not see their work as contributing only to scientific pursuits. Howland asks, "Strike the type-founder, the printer and the manufacturers of paper and parchment, out of the system, and what would become of the republic of letters?"[76] Mechanic

labor was essential to the spread of ideas and information. Inventors need not necessarily be mechanics themselves, but the work of mechanics enabled invention. Although he was not a printer as was Buckingham, Howland strikes the same note in arguing for recognition of the contributions of artisans to American intellectual and cultural production.

The mechanic, these society addresses suggest, occupies a crucial place among Americans, not merely for his utility, but also for the moral virtues of hard work and industry that accompany his productivity. It is no coincidence that we hear echoes of Benjamin Franklin's moral virtues here, given that he was America's best-known and most highly revered artisan. But while early nineteenth-century mechanics take a page from Franklin's *Autobiography*, they also transform his message from its focus on the virtues of the individual to instead focus on the collective morals and contribution to the public good of the artisan class. Benjamin Russell makes this point in his December 1809 address to the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association. He begins by praising both the classical era—Archimedes was the patron of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association—and mechanics from the near past—Benjamin Franklin and David Rittenhouse, astronomer, surveyor, and instrument maker. Of his contemporaries, Russell asserts: "Be assured, my Friends, you hold an important stake in society. Though you may not be the 'makers of manners;' not the dictators of publick amusements; let your fellow citizens see in you, patterns, worthy of imitation, of all the moral and domestick virtues; of liberality and candour. Labour is your delight."[77]

Not the elite, but the honest, hardworking, productive artisan should set the pattern for cultural imitation in the new United States, a view supported by the constitutions of the local societies. Whether from New York, Boston, or Newport, the chartering documents for local mechanic societies emphasize the importance of the collective conduct of artisans. These documents echo resolutions of the Providence society: "to discourage as far as possible, all foreign Manufacturers, by using in their Families and Business those of our own Country;—and that each Member avoid all Extravagance in Dress, or other Expences."[78] Mechanics were the originators of the "buy American" mantra, dating from the importation protests of the 1760s and 1770s until the present. Their emphasis on collective behavior points to the consolidation of their sense of themselves as a class of workers, an important step in the development of the working class. The well-being of the nation was essential to their individual and collective economic success, but they, in turn, were essential to the economic success of the nation.

In wresting cultural approbation from the elite and assigning it to the mechanic, John Howland acknowledges the limitations of mechanic training and urges artisans to overcome their traditional educational deficiencies. While the vast majority of mechanics in the early Republic era were literate, the long apprenticeships they served throughout their teenage years curtailed their opportunities for formal schooling. "Most of us who are at present members of this Association," Howland concedes, "have had but few advantages of education, but it will be our fault, as well as the fault of our fellow-citizens, if the next generation is not better taught. . . . it is a subject which ought to be the *lesson* of the day, and the *story* of the evening; let it be said in all private companies—let it be asserted in all public bodies—let it be declared in all places—till it has grown into a proverb, that it is the duty of the Legislature to establish Free Schools throughout the State."[79] This sense of a community's duty to all its children became one of the guiding principles of Howland's life. Howland's bottom-up theory of national development strikingly asserts the importance of serving the needs of the mechanic class. If mechanics represent the majority of the community, its lifeblood, ingenuity, and the source of the nation's moral values—as he and his fellow artisans would propose over the thirty-odd-year period between the end of the American Revolution and 1815—then their education and ability to prosper would ultimately benefit their "fellow-citizens."

Howland quickly enlisted the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers in support of public education shortly after its founding in 1789. Howland recalled: "[T]his body began the agitation that led to the establishment of public schools. When we came together in our association, we made the discovery of our deficiencies. There were papers to be drawn, and various kinds of writing to be done, that few of us were competent to execute. Then we began to talk. The question was asked, ought not our children to have better advantages of education than we have enjoyed? And the answer was yes."[80] Howland adds, "when we had talked the matter over pretty thoroughly among ourselves, we began to agitate. As I was something of a talker, and had practiced writing more than most of my associates, a good deal of this work fell to my lot. . . . I wrote a number of pieces for the newspaper, and tried to induce others to do the same." While the elite of Providence valued education, Howland points out, they "did not feel as we poor mechanics did."[81] As an adult, Howland himself was by no means poor. However, while the wealthy were able to privately fund the education of their children, many mechanics were not able to do so, nor were they themselves educated enough to oversee the education of their children. Their advocacy for public education became a chief means

through which Howland and other skilled workers were drawn into the management of Providence.[82]

While Howland believed that artisans had a duty to the nation-state, the state—at least on the level of the local municipality—also had a duty to its artisans. Working through the mechanics' society, Howland oversaw the introduction of a petition to the general assembly of Rhode Island to support public education and wrote the bill ultimately approved by the assembly in 1800.[83] Howland's recollection of this event is striking. Members of a committee of mechanics were assigned the task of drawing up individual petitions to the legislature, and from those memorials, as they were then styled, the committee would choose the most effective. However, only Howland and one other committee member actually drew up a petition. Howland judged William Richmond's memorial, written in the usual style, as "too humble in tone." He asserts, "I did not believe in *petitioning* legislators to do their duty."[84] Instead, he explained in his petition the educational "destitution" of mechanics "and the great importance of establishing free schools to supply it." Nearly fifty years later, Howland's efforts on behalf of public education had come to seem heroic: The Reverend Samuel Osgood, minister of Westminster Church in Providence in the 1840s, remarked: "Who will not honor John Howland even more for taking the lead in that memorial, than for having served under Washington at Trenton, and braved death in the battles of the revolution."[85]

Howland went on to draw up the rules for the schools of Providence, even ordering grammar and geography textbooks. Howland had never seen either kind of book and had to order them from Boston, but he understood they were necessary for the modern schools he envisioned. Howland foresaw a vast, educated class of workers emerging from these schools, young people who would be equipped to enter into any kind of trade and fulfill their responsibilities as citizens of the Republic. As a sign of the truly progressive nature of his vision for Providence, girls were also entitled to a free education. Howland sums up his dedication to public education: "If better educated and more influential men had seen fit to take the lead, I should have been contented to follow. But I felt that somebody must do the work, and as others would not, I resolved that I would."[86] The physical work of the mechanic thus transformed into the intellectual and social labor of activism. Howland used his influence in the Providence mechanics' society to build a groundswell of support.

Howland's keen sense of civic responsibility underlines the social importance of the mechanic societies. Although they were not political organizations in and of themselves, they served as public platforms and powerful engines

of social change. Artisans used these societies to proclaim their cultural importance and enact civic responsibilities. By the start of the second decade of the nineteenth century, mechanic societies had clearly achieved many of their goals. Howland would remark in 1818 that "the fears and jealousies of many of our fellow-citizens, of secret purposes and undefined principles . . . have not been realized. . . . the increase of our numbers, the state of our funds, and the harmony subsisting among our associates, is a subject of mutual congratulation, and presages the increasing usefulness of an institution, which, discarding its political contentions, combines with its principles practical benevolence and social order."[87]

Howland sums up the integral role of the mechanic in American culture in a wonderful secular revision of John Winthrop's image of the Christian communal body in "A Model of Christian Charity." Howland imagines civil society as a body composed of interdependent occupations: "The mechanic and manufacturer, the farmer, the merchant, the professors of the liberal and of the fine arts, all these essentially contribute to form that improved state of society, which alone can render our condition comfortable and pleasing, and from which all our rational enjoyments proceed. It is highly gratifying . . . to view the connecting links of this golden chain, which binds the various interests to the public good; like the parts of the human body, none can say to the other, I have no need of thee."[88] Rather than standing perpetually outside a small circle of elite Americans who would set the moral and economic tone of the nation, mechanics reimagined the relationship of workers to the nation. They successfully made a case for themselves in the national imaginary, contending for themselves as the majority, the industrious base of America culture. In Howland's vision, the educated, virtuous, hardworking, moral, and politically efficacious mechanic is the ideal citizen of the new Republic. Mechanics, as represented by their constitutions, bylaws, and addresses, helped initiate a tectonic shift in American culture, elevating the common man and valuing his labor decades before the rise of Jacksonian America—by which time the celebration of the common man would forget its roots in mechanic literacy.

Conclusion

Uncovering Other Outsider Authors

For outsiders, the medium always mattered. The questions behind *Empowering Words* emerged while I was writing *Intricate Relations: Sexual and Economic Desire in American Fiction, 1789–1814*. The majority of early American novels were written by literate, well-read individuals of middling economic status. Eighteenth-century outsiders may have read novels, but they did not write them. Books were simply too costly for them, either to write or to publish. As I explored the fiction that emerged from American presses beginning in 1789 with William Hill Brown's *The Power of Sympathy*, as U.S. presses dramatically increased their rate of annual production, I wondered what this revolution in print meant for the poor, the illiterate, the unfree, and the socially and legally marginalized. If outsiders did not write novels, what did they write? What did print mean for them? How did they gain access to it? What kinds of literacy skills were required for would-be authors?

Rather than literacy itself, eighteenth-century authorship required a functional *understanding* of literacy. To enter into print in late eighteenth-century America, one did not necessarily have to be able to write, or even to read, although such skills obviously facilitated individual authorship. Rather, outsiders needed to comprehend how literacy, writing, and publication functioned in Anglo-America.

Acquisition of literacy and writing skills was empowering, but it was also costly. Outsiders sometimes paid a terrible price to be literate in English. The haunting stories of Patience Boston and Tobit Potter, Indian casualties on the road to salvation and universal literacy, remind us of the human costs of literacy acquisition. Although the free public education that the barber John Howland so momentously envisioned is a reality today, the poor, especially ethnic outsiders and recent immigrants, still bear a disproportionate material and human price for this education. Paper, pencils, and notebooks no longer suffice, as outsiders struggle to adapt to new forms of literacy that come easily to a middle class and elite technocracy. Computers and e-readers are as far removed from

the means of the poor today as were the tuition and implements required by eighteenth-century writing schools.

Empowering Words has considered a range of working individuals—a free white southern businesswoman and an enslaved African woman, black men captured by Indians and a Native American minister, a poor Massachusetts farm woman and urban mechanics—to provide snapshots of how eighteenth-century outsiders located collaborators and sponsors, produced publishable texts, participated in public conversations, and forged new identities for themselves as subjects and citizens in the world of print. While exploring how these particular individuals navigated the challenging terrain of writing and publishing, *Empowering Words* has sought to open new routes of inquiry into outsider authorship by focusing on genre and medium. To recover other outsider authors, we must continue to turn from books to less expensive and more accessible forms of print.

Published in ephemeral formats, death-related genres such as the elegy, the criminal confession, the conversion narrative, the execution sermon, and the ballad offer unmatched opportunities for locating outsider authors, especially those of color. It is no coincidence that the printed works of Phillis Wheatley and Samson Occom with the greatest circulation and the most immediate impact within their culture centered on death and dying. The person of color was a noncitizen—legally and socially dead. That death-related genres, with their promise of a glorious, equal afterlife for the regenerate in the Resurrection, would be attractive to Christian outsiders is no surprise. Briton Hammon's and John Marrant's revisions of the captivity narrative similarly address their symbolic deaths, with both authors speaking of their rebirth at the time of their reintegration into Anglo-American Christian culture.

For Christian *readers*, the promise of Resurrection was similarly appealing, but the literate, middling or well-to-do Christian enjoyed another pleasure from the purchase of texts by evangelical outsider authors: Christian consumption. The evangelical empire of the eighteenth century was built on Christian consumption. Eighteenth-century Christians voted with their pocketbooks, making best-sellers out of such texts as Wheatley's elegy for George Whitefield, Samson Occom's execution sermon for Moses Paul, and John Marrant's captivity narrative. Through purchase of such texts, evangelical readers demonstrated their faith and assumed a place in the evangelical empire, an empire based not on a state but on affiliation and Christian fellow feeling. Unfortunately for the authors of those texts, while they accrued social, cultural, and symbolic capital from their authorship, the absence of copyright meant their financial profits

were quite small. Christian fellow feeling was only a partial compensation for legal and social inequality.

As the evangelical empire briefly waned in influence at the turn of the century, nationalism, patriotism, and investment in the colonial past came to fulfill the affiliative needs of many American readers. Clementina Rind created a space for women as writers and readers, while Deborah Sampson embodied Columbia herself. Mechanics found their space in the national imaginary by claiming that they were both the base of the nation and innovators of modernity. It would be artisans, they claimed, who would finally vanquish the "savagery" of the Native American through mechanic innovation. The exaltation of the working man sometimes unfortunately came at the expense of other outsiders, not only Native Americans but also African Americans. It is for this reason that I've described the figures in my study as *outsiders*. Although each worked, they were not yet a working *class*. Instead of identifying by social class, they identified themselves as Christians, as patriots, or as skilled workers. Not until the nineteenth century would workers come together as classes, and even then they would be divided by race, gender, ethnicity, and legal status.

Although this volume has explored the kinetic world of broadside publishing primarily through the narrow lens of the elegy, dozens of different types of broadsides flourished in early America, including ballads, advertisements, criminal confessions, legal forms, indenture agreements, political cartoons, government proclamations, announcements, and legal notices. Timely, inexpensive, and accessible, broadsides, more so than any material other than the Bible, the almanac, and newspapers, would have been the printed texts with which most people came into contact in the late eighteenth century. Often published as small jobs and usually not technically demanding, broadsides were the bread-and-butter work of many printers. Only the Revolutionary-era imprints, German-language broadsides, and now broadside elegies have been explored in any detail.[1]

While such ephemera were indifferently preserved—often only accidentally—ephemera provide unparalleled access into the lives of ordinary people. What could we learn from studying a decade or more of the broadside productions from a small print shop? What could these broadsides tell us about the reading and writing habits of a local community? How do women feature in these texts as authors or subjects? What kinds of literacies do we see practiced in these broadsides?

Other forms of ephemera offer equally rich avenues of inquiry. Clemen-

tina Rind might be the standard-bearer for wit and resourcefulness among eighteenth-century female newspaper editors, but a sizable cohort of informally educated printers' wives, daughters, and sisters thrived throughout colonial America. Probably taught at home to read by their parents, most of these women would have honed their reading, writing, and ciphering skills in the family business. In male-run printing houses, the labor of female family members was often essential. What remains to be learned about female contributions to the success of the print shop? How did the relative richness of printed material available to them shape their reading and writing practices? While Leona Hudak's *Early American Women Printers and Publishers, 1639–1820* provides overviews of female printers, she discusses only those women who worked as master printers, and only then *as* printers. What if we were to consider those women not only as printers, but also as authors and editors? For those female printers who also edited newspapers, what might we learn about their writing skills by mining the local news sections, along with obituaries and advertisements?

Mechanic, fraternal, and religious societies engaged in various forms of sponsorship, providing rich opportunities for outsiders to enter into print. The inexpensive pamphlet format, priced and valued somewhere between the book and true ephemera, was the ideal medium for these kinds of organizations. What other kinds of local organizations sponsored publications in the late colonial and early national eras? Would the records of local benevolent societies yield similar riches and allow us to find authors in unconventional places?

By continuing to be attentive to questions concerning medium, genre, collaboration, and sponsorship, we may uncover new outsider authors, with the potential to reshape our understanding of the relationships among literacy, authorship, and agency in early America.

Notes

Introduction. Outsider Authorship in Early America

1. *Virginia Gazette*, (Clementina Rind), 27 January 1774, 4.

2. Michael Warner points out that "saying that letters were 'alien' to the illiterate is more than a tautology, since it is to these groups that writing and print may have appeared most clearly as technologies of power." Speaking of Olaudah Equiano, Warner goes on to note that "printing constituted and distinguished a specifically white community." I would argue that until the late eighteenth century, print constituted and distinguished an elite white community. Warner, *Letters of the Republic*, 11–12.

3. Benedict Anderson argues that reading popular books and newspapers allowed individuals to imagine a sense of belonging, "creating that remarkable confidence of community in anonymity which is the hallmark of modern nations." See chapter 2, "Cultural Roots," and chapter 3, "The Origins of National Consciousness" in Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 36.

4. Newspaper figures are drawn from Edward Connery Lathem's extraordinarily useful *Chronological Tables of American Newspapers*, 6–9 and 76–119. Newspapers might be started at any point during a calendar year. Selected years thus may include in their count newspapers that appeared for only one or two issues. Lathem indicates the start and suspension date of papers when known. He also indicates whether archives hold relatively complete runs of a paper, a few numbers (which he calculates as less than 25 percent), or no extant copies.

While the number of imprints was prone to wide fluctuations from year to year, newspapers tended to increase slowly and steadily in number. In 1810, for example, there were 366 newspapers published in the United States. Of course, Isaiah Thomas notes that 20 of those were *daily* papers, published in larger cities, such as Philadelphia and New York, as opposed to the more common weekly papers. By 1815, 386 newspapers were being published. Thomas, *History of Printing in America*, 16; and Lathem, *Chronological Tables of American Newspapers*, 76–119.

Figures for imprints are drawn from the North American Imprints Program, based at the American Antiquarian Society, as of 30 January 2012. Hugh Amory notes that "[i]n general, NAIP is fuller, more accurate, and much more accessible than any of its predecessors," given that NAIP includes a number of items not listed in either Charles Evans's *American Bibliography* or any of its updates. Amory, "Note on Statistics," 504.

Imprints typically fluctuated in number from year to year, with an overall upward trend. For example, there were 3,058 imprints in 1810; 2,478 in 1811; 2,867 in 1812; 2,867 also in 1813; 3,011 in 1814; 2,818 in 1815; and 3,117 in 1816. These numbers likely represent a slight undercount, but Amory estimates it is "unlikely that more than 10 percent of the books printed in America have perished without a trace." Amory, "Note on Statistics," 504, 514.

5. Lathem, *Chronological Tables of American Newspapers*, 9–22. The figure for printed texts is drawn from the North American Imprints Program.

6. Zboray, *Fictive People*, 55–68.

7. Dustin H. Griffin has described subscription sales "as a kind of democratized patronage, whereby a large number of patrons may, for a relatively small outlay, find their names listed among the subscribers." Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England*, 267. While I agree with Griffin that subscriptions enabled those of lesser estate to become patrons of writers, I would not go so far as to call it "democratized" patronage in eighteenth-century America. Outsiders typically lacked the well-established social networks on which subscription sales depended.

8. Brodhead, *Cultures of Letters*, 110. Brodhead speaks specifically of Frederick Douglass, who as a southern slave was denied an education. Brodhead says Douglass "can stand for the writers in every cultural configuration who succeed in making themselves writers in excess of such configurations' plans for figures of their sort." Brodhead, *Cultures of Letters*, 111. For a discussion of "institutional" factors that limited nineteenth-century authorship, see Brodhead, *Cultures of Letters*, 107–15.

9. T. H. Breen begins his essay "Making History" by asking: "How exactly do ordinary people make history?" Highly critical of the kind of work historians were doing in the 1990s, Breen writes: "They [historians] have separated everyday experience from political and economic structures and thereby isolated quotidian concerns from external sources of power. Such accounts teach us a lot about the construction of the self, often within the context of family and community, but not much about society. . . . But to what purpose? However much it might have enriched the stories we tell ourselves about the past, the interpretive move away from broad economic and social structures might have come at too great a price. It has divorced the individual from major external systems of power, leaving the impression that, for ordinary men and women, making history was simply a matter of personal choice." I take Breen's point, for outsiders did not become authors simply by willing themselves to become so: they had to work within and through the social and economic structures to which the printing business responded and created. Breen, "Making History," 67–68.

10. Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness*, 30.

11. I borrow the concepts of symbolic and cultural capital from Pierre Bourdieu's work, especially *Distinction* and *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. Symbolic capital accrues from honor, recognition, and prestige, while cultural capital derives from an individual's knowledge of how a society works. Cultural capital

may be measured by an ability to navigate successfully in a given culture. The outsiders most successful in leveraging print to produce symbolic and cultural capital relied on social capital, the resources available to an individual in the form of membership in groups, networks, and relationships.

12. Brodhead uses the phrase "the history of literary access" to indicate "a systematic asking by what means and by virtue of what circumstances different potential authors have been able to lay claim to different powers in the literary realm." Brodhead, *Cultures of Letters*, 110.

13. Hall, "Literacy, Culture, and Authority," 183.

14. Keller-Cohen, "Web of Literacy," 157. David D. Hall labels the literacy that Keller-Cohen describes in early America as "traditional literacy," which he identifies by four characteristics: 1) the primacy of reading over writing; 2) the importance of memorization in learning to read, especially through reading aloud; 3) the relative scarcity of printed material; 4) the prevalence of steady sellers such as the Bible and almanacs. Hall, "Uses of Literacy," *Cultures of Print*, 57.

15. Hall, *Cultures of Print*, 54–56.

16. Keller-Cohen, "Web of Literacy," 156.

17. Hall, "Literacy, Culture, and Authority," 182–83.

18. Keller-Cohen, "Web of Literacy," 158–61.

19. Ibid., 168.

20. McGann, *Textual Condition*, 15.

21. Ibid.

22. H. Love, *Scribal Publication*, 36. For further discussion of the process of scribal publication, when handwritten copies are shared with individuals, coteries, or via networks, see chapter 2, "'Publication' in the Scribal Medium." For further discussion of the intertwined relationship between manuscript and print publications in Britain, see Ezell, *Social Authorship*.

23. See, for example, Angela Vietto's description of "literary sorority," in which women exchanged both manuscript and print. Vietto, *Women and Authorship*, 19–36.

24. Dickinson, "Soul selects Her own Society," 143.

25. David S. Shields discusses the importance of privacy among a range of societies, especially literary and projecting societies. D. Shields, "Eighteenth-Century Literary Culture," 473–74. See also Hall, *Cultures of Print*, 153–55.

26. D. Shields, *Civil Tongues and Polite Letters*, xxx.

27. H. Love, *Scribal Publication*, 230.

28. Ibid., 177.

29. See *Milcah Martha Moore's Book*, edited by Catherine La Courreye Blecki and Karin A. Wulf, and Mulford, *Only for the Eye*, 58–62.

30. Shurr, "Now, Gods, Stand Up for Bastards," 435–51.

31. See the "Journal and Poems of Margaret Lowther Page" in the Special Collections Research Center at Swem Library, College of William and Mary. The best discussion of

Page's book and writing career is in Lauren M. Wallis's unpublished thesis; see Wallis, "To Form a New World."

32. Cameron, *Choosing Not Choosing,* 21.

33. B. Hammon, *Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings*, 11.

Chapter 1. Mourning New England

1. This iconization has even led to distortions of the historical record, in the form of the "literary trial" that Henry Louis Gates Jr. popularized in his writings about Phillis Wheatley and the attestation to her authorship signed by prominent Bostonians. In Gates's recreation, the young Phillis's intellectual abilities are on trial before a jury of white men. As Joanna Brooks argues, Gates's imaginative recreation of this event has become a dominant paradigm through which Wheatley's authorship is perceived—even though there is little evidence that it took place as Gates imagines. For Gates's discussion of how the circumstances surrounding the signatures on the attestation might have played out, see Gates, *Trials of Phillis Wheatley*. In a nuanced refutation of Gates's scenario, Brooks speculates "that Wheatley herself devised the attestation as part of a months-long strategy to secure the London publication of her poems," a claim that seems reasonable given Wheatley's careful orchestration of her public career. J. Brooks, "Our Phillis, Ourselves," 7. Vincent Carretta concurs with Brooks, arguing: "Such an examination would have been unnecessary. Most of the men named in the 'Attestation' had demonstrable direct as well as indirect ties to Phillis Wheatley herself. They already had ample evidence of her abilities." Carretta, *Phillis Wheatley*, 103.

2. Regarding Jonathan Plummer's publication history, Daniel E. Williams observes: "The exact number of broadsides Plummer published is not known, since it seems likely that several have entirely disappeared due to the fragile nature of broadsides. My best count at this point is forty-eight broadsides (plus a couple of pamphlets and his autobiographical narrative)." Williams, "Reckoned To Be Almost a Natural Fool," 167.

3. Nott, "From 'Uncultivated Barbarian' to 'Poetical Genius,'" 22. Kirstin Wilcox similarly emphasizes the importance of Wheatley's 1773 volume in terms of shaping Wheatley's public image as a cosmopolitan poet able to move beyond poems based on her connection to a particular community. Wilcox, "Body into Print," 1–29 *passim*.

4. Winslow, *American Broadside Verse*, xix.

5. There is no comprehensive study of the broadside in early America. The best way to approach the study of broadsides is to begin with the early twentieth-century collections; see Ford, *Broadsides, Ballads Etc.* and Winslow, *American Broadside Verse*. Scholarly interest in the broadside revived in the 1970s with the approaching bicentennial, because so many political documents of the time were produced in broadside format. Particularly helpful are Georgia B. Bumgardner's introduction to *American Broadsides* as well as Mason I. Lowance Jr. and Bumgardner's *Massachusetts Broadsides of the American Revolution*. More recently, Wendy Woolson wrote "The Business of Broadsides" for the

Library Company of Philadelphia's 2002 *Annual Report*. Also of interest is Yoder, *Pennsylvania German Broadside*.

6. Lowance, Introduction to *Massachusetts Broadsides*, 3.

7. Wheatley's correspondence provides the best evidence of how she utilized a network of correspondents to sell her books. See especially her letters to Obour Tanner (21 March 1774 and 6 May 1774), to Colonel David and Mary Wooster (18 October 1773 and 15 July 1778), and to Reverend Samuel Hopkins (9 February 1774 and 6 May 1774). For a discussion of Wheatley's correspondence networks, see J. Brooks, "Our Phillis, Ourselves."

8. In fact, this appears to be the case with the Pennsylvania Historical Society's copy of Wheatley's 1770 Whitefield elegy, printed by Ezekiel Russell. Measuring approximately 10 x 14 inches, the elegy appears to have been folded in half and placed inside a book, where it was well preserved except for the bottom edge, which is missing the publication information and part of the mourning rule.

9. A good example of this kind of fortuitous preservation is the recently rediscovered broadside of Samuel Keimer's 1723 *An Elegy on the Much Lamented Death of Aquila Rose*, Benjamin Franklin's first known Philadelphia printing job, which was recently discovered in the scrapbook of Samuel Hazard (1784–1870). I am grateful to Wendy Woolson of the Library Company of Philadelphia for drawing this imprint to my attention and for generously sharing her knowledge of broadsides. Woolson notes: "The way that people circulated broadsides, often reading and then discarding them, or pasting them to walls, caused them to be inherently ephemeral. It is remarkable that they exist today in the numbers they do; some, such as elegies, were saved for sentimental value, but many more were used as scrap paper." Woolson, "The Business of Broadsides," 18–19.

10. Winslow, *American Broadside Verse*, xix.

11. Geddes, *Welcome Joy*, 130. Winslow also notes that elegies were sometimes pinned "to the pall covering the casket, as had long been the practice in England," explaining: "There is an allusion in Samuel Sewall's *Diary* to such a custom in America." Winslow, *American Broadside Verse*, xix. See also Stannard, *Puritan Way of Death*, 113.

12. Bumgardner, *American Broadsides*, n.p.

13. There are notable exceptions, including Anne Bradstreet's extended elegy for Queen Elizabeth and those for her grandchildren, but elegies for men, written by men, predominate in the seventeenth century. Good illustrations of the expansion of the elegiac tradition can be found in the published 1710 elegies for Samuel Sewall's daughter (*Upon the Much Lamented Death of That Pious and Hopeful Young Gentlewoman, Wife of Mr. Samuel Gerrish*) and granddaughter (*A Neighbor's Tears Sprinkled on the Dust of the Amiable Virgin, Mrs. Rebekah Sewall*).

14. Stannard, *Puritan Way of Death*, 117. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, funeral sermons were sometimes printed at the expense of the family. See Ludwig, *Graven Images*, 59, 61.

15. Hammond, *American Puritan Elegy*, 236.

16. Ludwig, *Graven Images*, 58.

17. Stannard, *Puritan Way of Death*, 132.

18. McGann, *Textual Condition*, 15.

19. Maruca, *Work of Print*, 5.

20. McGann, *Textual Condition*, 15.

21. See the 12 November 1722 edition of the *New-England Courant*, 2.

22. Dialogues between body and soul were a long-established part of Christian tradition. These debates continued to be popular among readers in the form of the 1767 "Dialogue Between Death and a Lady" or the perennially popular Edmund Weld poem "A Funeral Elegy by Way of a Dialogue; between Death, Soul, Body, and Jesus Christ," which was first published in 1668. The longevity of the latter poem suggests the enduring comfort offered by a vision of Jesus reaching out to the dying soul as his bride. This category of elegy seems substantively different from the others: these poems function as generic elegies for the Christian, and while they would have contributed to the shaping of the public weal, profit would have been the foremost motive for printers or publishers.

23. Lowance and Bumgardner, *Massachusetts Broadsides*, x.

24. Consider Tiffany (1733–96) is best known now as the author of a diary that records the fullest account of the capture and execution of Nathan Hale during the Revolutionary War. Tiffany's descendants donated this diary to the Library of Congress in 2000.

25. D. Shields, *Civil Tongues*, 219.

26. Julie Ellison, *Cato's Tears*, 71.

27. For accounts of Whitefield's death, see Henry, *George Whitefield*, 13–15, and Belcher, *George Whitefield*, 433–44.

28. For good discussions of how Susannah Wheatley aided in the publication and promotion of *Poems*, see Carretta, *Phillis Wheatley*, 92–104; Wilcox, "Body into Print;" and Grimsted, "Anglo-American Racism," 389–90. Mason, Shields, and Carretta all reprint these proposals in their respective editions of Wheatley's work.

29. Mulford, *Only for the Eye*, 58.

30. D. Shields, *Civil Tongues*, 66–67, 165–68.

31. Vincent Carretta's biography of Wheatley discusses a number of these correspondence relationships. See, for example, Wheatley's correspondence with Thomas Wallcut, a student at Harvard to whom Wheatley sent "To the University at Cambridge." Carretta, *Phillis Wheatley*, 88.

32. David Grimsted speculates: "Possibly [Sarah] Osborn passed on Wheatley's poem, sent her by Susanna, in that year to the *Mercury*." Grimsted, "Anglo-American Racism," 379. Osborn was an evangelical and ran a school in Newport, Rhode Island, where she taught Wheatley's friend, Obour Tanner. Grimsted, "Anglo-American Racism," 372, 381–82. Carretta, too, believes it likely that Osborn passed the poem on to the newspaper. Carretta, *Phillis Wheatley*, 66. Osborn also taught John Howland, whose work is discussed in chapter 5.

33. Wheatley, "On Messrs. Hussey and Coffin," *Newport Mercury, 14* December 1767, 3. All subsequent quotations are from this version of the poem.

34. Carretta, *Phillis Wheatley*, 23.

35. See also "Recollection," which was published in March 1772 in the *London Magazine: or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*. Mason notes that "Recollection" was reprinted a number of times following its initial publication in the *London Magazine*, March 1772 (41:134–35). It was also printed in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Post Boy and Advertiser* (1 March 1773), the *Essex Gazette* (16–23 March 1773), the *Annual Register* (London: K. Dodsley, 1773), and the *London Gentleman's Magazine*, September 1773 (43: 456).

36. Odell, *Memoir and Poems*, 14.

37. Robinson, *Phillis Wheatley*, 42. Mukhtar Ali Isani disagrees with this point and argues: "Though suggestions have been made to the contrary, there is no evidence that [Wheatley's elegies] were written on request." Despite this claim, Isani argues that because Wheatley generally wrote elegies either "about people she knew" or about their family members, her elegies were not "devoid of feeling or calculated to enhance her fame." Isani, "Phillis Wheatley and the Elegiac Mode," 210. I disagree strongly with Isani. This pattern of consistent publication of Wheatley's elegies suggests that Wheatley deliberately sought fame. Otherwise, she would have engaged in manuscript publication.

38. Cushing is quoted in Robinson, *Phillis Wheatley,* 69.

39. This episode is also discussed in J. Brooks, "Our Phillis, Ourselves," 8.

40. Mulford, *Only for the Eye*, 1.

41. Wheatley wrote a great deal of poetry from the time of publication of "Mssrs Hussey and Coffin" to the 1770 elegy for Whitefield, and these poems circulated in manuscript among New England evangelicals, but we have no record of individual publication of any of these, although many of them appeared in the 1773 *Poems*. Vincent Carretta believes that Wheatley's first poem was a 1765 elegy for Oxenbridge Thacher Jr., which survives in only fragmentary form in the diary of Jeremy Belknap, a Congregationalist minister. Carretta, *Phillis Wheatley*, 46.

42. "On the Death of the Rev. Dr. Sewall. 1769" was included in *Poems*. Sewall was the minister of the Old South Boston Meeting House, where Wheatley was baptized in 1771. Her Sewall elegy advises specific mourning practices that encompass the entire community, not just the elite: "Mourn him, ye indigent" and "Mourn him, ye youth, to whom he oft has told / God's gracious wonders" (l. 45). In some places, the Whitefield elegy repeats similar lines. While her Whitefield elegy begins with the phrase "Hail, happy saint," the third line of the Sewall elegy begins "Hail, holy man!" The poems also contain similar images of a saint freed from earthly bonds and worries, winging his way to the shore of eternity.

43. Mulford, *Only for the Eye*, 296.

44. The table of contents for *Milcah Martha Moore's Book* reveals over a dozen elegies, some for public figures, such as Hannah Griffitts's poem "On the Death of King George

the 2d," but most for the children of friends and relatives, such as Griffitts's "To a Relation on the Death of Two Infants." Inscribed to "R.W.," this poem was intended to be a personal offering of sympathy and remembrance. Interestingly, a manuscript copy of Wheatley's "On Atheism" is in the manuscripts of Hannah Griffitts in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, with a note about the author scrawled at the top. There are dozens of poems by Griffitts in this collection, including a number of elegies; among them are "To the Memory of my Beloved Friend Hannah Morris, Who Died at Philadelphia March 21st 1792" and a very moving prose tribute to her sister Mary Griffitts and friends, as she outlived her family and the friends of her youth. See Griffitts, Box 2.

45. How and why Haynes came to publish his elegy for Asa Burt, who died when a tree fell upon him, is unclear. Was it sold because Asa Burt was a well-known local figure who died young? Or was it because the Hartford printer thought local readers would enjoy it as good poetry? Or was it sold as a novelty—a published poem by a black man? Haynes's other publications are primarily sermons that deny universal salvation.

46. In his *Sketch of the History of the Life and Adventures of Jonathan Plummer, Jun.*, Plummer explains: "I had found that serious writings commonly went off faster than others. I had published merry works of my own, and found them rather unsaleable. I had hypocritically composed elegy's, &c. and sold them very fast" (138). As Daniel Williams asserts: "Plummer is . . . a highly significant figure in early American print culture not only because he was one of the first writers who attempted to make a living by writing, thus becoming one of the early republic's first professional writers, but also because he used writing as a means of validating his unique self-conception." Plummer was the archetype of the opportunistic elegist; as Williams explains: "His favorite occasions were death and destruction. A prophet of doom and doggerel rhyme, he usually located poetic subjects in shipwrecks, drownings, hurricanes, epidemics, murders, executions, fires, wars, suicides, and earthquakes. If there was a sudden or tragic loss of life, Plummer would likely be seen in the streets broadcasting the news with his broadsides at a price of four pence and one half penny." Williams, "Reckoned To Be Almost a Natural Fool," 151–52, 154.

47. In 1770, Dr. Benjamin Church was a well-known physician and poet. He served as the Chief Physician and Director General of the Continental Army until he was charged with treason in 1775, court-martialed, and found guilty. Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause*, 525–26.

48. Whitefield first visited the Georgia colony at the urging of the Wesleys. See Henry, *George Whitefield*, 29–30 and Belcher, *George Whitefield*, 44–70.

49. Charles Wesley's first published hymns appear in the 1739 edition of *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, which he published along with his brother, John.

50. J. Shields, *Phillis Weatley's Poetics of Liberation*, 117.

51. This same advertisement appeared in the 22 October 1770 *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, the 9 November 1770 *New-Hampshire Gazette, and Historical Chronicle*, and the 12 No-

vember 1770 *New-York Gazette or the Weekly Post-Boy*. This same phrase also appears on Russell's edition of Wheatley's elegy for Whitefield.

52. Lambert, *"Pedlar in Divinity,"* 5.

53. While the editions of Wheatley's Whitefield elegy printed by Ezekiel Russell include the custom engraving, the 1770 broadside edition printed by Isaiah Thomas and titled "Phillis's Poem on the Death of Mr. Whitefield" uses a different woodcut.

54. Wesley, *To the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield*.

55. *An Elegy on the Much Lamented Death of the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield*.

56. *A Funeral Elegy, on the Rev'd. and Renowned George Whitefield*.

57. Unless otherwise noted, this and all subsequent citations to Wheatley's elegy for Whitefield refer to the 1770 edition printed by Ezekiel Russell.

58. For a discussion of Whitefield's support of the colonies in their disagreements with the British government prior to the Revolution, see Lambert, *"Pedlar in Divinity,"* 219–25.

59. "To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1768" was included in *Poems*. It is reprinted in Wheatley, *Phillis Wheatley: Complete Writings*, 12–13.

60. The Boston population dipped precipitously during the Revolutionary War, and in 1781, the population was still small, estimated at 10,000 in the town and another 4,215 in the annexed areas. The population did not return to its prewar levels until 1784. *Municipal Register*, 216. By 1790, the population had grown to 18,320. Kennedy, *Planning the City*, 261.

61. Attendance estimates vary. Thomas Hutchinson, who was at that time Acting Royal Governor of Massachusetts, writes in his diary that "the grand funeral . . . brought many thousands together." Robert Ferguson describes it this way: "In all, twenty-five hundred mourners joined the Seider funeral procession, held in the coldest weather, and most of Boston's fifteen thousand residents turn out to watch." Ferguson, *American Enlightenment*, 12 and 9.

62. Ferguson claims that Wheatley likely was inspired to write her poem based on an article about the Seider murder by Benjamin Edes and John Gill, the editors of the *Boston-Gazette*, who similarly frame Seider as a martyr—and similarly misspell his name as "Snider." Ferguson, *American Enlightenment*, 12–13. A manuscript copy of Wheatley's elegy for Seider is in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is listed in Wheatley's 1772 book proposal as "On the Death of Master *Seider*, who was killed by *Ebenezer Richardson*, 1770." This proposal was first published in the 29 February *Boston Censor*.

63. The 1772 *Boston Censor* proposal also lists a poem titled "On the Affray in King-Street, on the Evening of the 5th of March."

64. For succinct accounts of the Seider murder and the Boston Massacre, see Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause*, 207–13. For a longer discussion of the Seider murder, see Zobel, *Boston Massacre*, 173–79; for a longer account of the Boston Massacre, see Zobel, *Boston*

Massacre, 180–205. As histories of the Revolutionary era demonstrate, the murder of Christopher Seider and the Boston Massacre were not isolated incidents of violence; rather they were moments of extreme violence that punctuated the ongoing animosities leading to public brawls and beatings among Boston residents and British soldiers and colonial Tories. These disagreements, which occurred in newspapers, verbally in public settings like taverns, and in physical confrontations, were inflamed by the nonimportation agreements and labor conflicts between semi and unskilled Boston laborers and British soldiers, who often worked second jobs when off duty. Middlekauff describes these animosities as producing "roving bands of civilians and soldiers, all apparently in search of one another." Middlekauff, *Glorious Cause*, 209.

65. For a discussion of the debate about the nature of the relationship between the colonies and the crown, see Fliegelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims*, 93–94, 96–105. For a discussion of the transformation in the role of the father, see Fliegelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims*, 1, 210–12. Fliegelman casts this change in paternal relations into the context of a larger transformation in familial relations from the patriarchal family to the affectionate family. Fliegelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims*, 9–12.

66. Fliegelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims*, 11–12.

67. See, for example, the revised version of "On the Death of the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, 1770" included in the 2012 *Norton Anthology of American Literature*, 8th edition.

68. Wheatley wrote other elegies prior to the publication of her 1773 book, but these are the elegies that saw independent publication *prior* to that volume (with the exception of *An Elegy, to Miss Mary Moorhead*, which appeared later that same year); several other elegies included in the 1773 volume appear in print there for the first time.

69. Wilcox, "Body into Print," 15.

70. For Wheatley, audience was everything, as evidenced by how she revised the works listed in the 1772 *Boston Censor* edition proposal for the 1773 London edition of *Poems*. Kirstin Wilcox explains: "The collection of poems that appeared in England had only fifteen poems out of thirty-eight in common with the collection proposed in Boston, and the titles of several of those fifteen had been revised." As a whole, Wilcox argues, the London collection is more cosmopolitan and less local, focusing less on local events and personages and more on packaging Wheatley as "a poet concerned with the display of her belletristic mastery and engaged with other kinds of literary and artistic productions." Wilcox, "Body into Print," 17–18. Considering the poems included in Wheatley's book, William Robinson speculates: "She knew very well that most Americans, unfamiliar with Neo-Classical aesthetics, wanted their poetry to be more specific and concrete, at least to include their own names in the titles. She knew too that in England, where her volume would likely be more critically scrutinized, readers would expect more emphasis on the typical, the general, the 'universal.'" Robinson, *Phillis Wheatley*, 49. While acknowledging that the published volume is "much more conciliatory toward British political sensibilities," Cedrick May characterizes these changes

somewhat differently. He suggests: "Wheatley appears to have transformed her book so that she could spread her vision of social reality and piety through her art. Part of that social reality involved burgeoning attitudes about the nature of race and universal humanity and the relationships between the peoples of Africa and Europe." May, *Evangelism and Resistance*, 55. For further discussion of how Wheatley revised her poems for the English edition, see also Mason, *Poems of Phillis Wheatley*, 185–88n2; Grimsted, "Anglo-American Racism," 349–50; J. Shields, *Phillis Wheatley's Poetics of Liberation*, 195–96; and Erkkila, "Phillis Wheatley," 172.

71. The signers of this document have been described by a number of critics. See, for example, Balkun, "Phillis Wheatley's Construction of Otherness," 121–24 and Gates, *Trials of Phillis Wheatley*, 7–16.

72. Balkun, "Phillis Wheatley's Construction of Otherness," 123.

73. Herzberg is quoted in Swales, *Genre Analysis*, 21.

74. Melish, *Disowning Slavery*, 26–27.

75. Hammond, *American Puritan Elegy*, 109.

76. Schenck, "Feminism and Deconstruction," 13.

77. Ibid., 15.

78. In his discussion of Puritan elegies, Max Cavitch cites a number that operate on precisely this model, most notably Cotton Mather's elegy for Harvard president Urian Oakes, leading Cavitch to conclude that "Puritan elegies tend to be preoccupied not with eternity but with personal fame and institutional continuity." Cavitch, *American Elegy*, 37.

79. Schenck argues: "Refusal of consolation, Sarton's mourning without end, is perhaps the female elegist's most characteristic subversion of the masculine elegiac." She explains: "In her subversion of the elegiac, the female elegist not only deconstructs these ahistorical, apolitical, and essentially mythic structures, she replaces them with connective tissue, fleshly bonds; she protests final separation by insisting upon not only the difficulty of severing substantial relations, but the potential for achieving identity by preserving those very relations in a kind of continuous present." Schenck, "Feminism and Deconstruction," 24.

80. Stabile, *Memory's Daughters*, 178–79.

81. Thorn, "Phillis Wheatley's Ghosts," 95.

82. Wheatley, "To the Right Honourable William, Earl of Dartmouth," *Poems of Phillis Wheatley*, 83.

83. Hammond, *American Puritan Elegy*, 120.

84. For more information on Hubbard, see Mason, *Poems of Phillis Wheatley,* 151n28.

85. Wheatley, *To the Hon'ble Thomas Hubbard, Esq*, ll. 5–6, 9.

86. Ibid., ll. 31–32.

87. Ibid., l. 46. Paula Bennett has pointed out that "Wheatley's basic strategy in all these elegies is the same: young or old, famous or anonymous, male or female, the dead are brought back to admonish the living, either in their own voices, which she ven-

triloquizes (Bassard 71), or in the voice of the poet-medium, who speaks for and about them." Bennett, "Phillis Wheatley's Vocation," 69.

88. The Reverend Timothy Pitkin was married to Temperance Clap Pitkin, who was the sister of Mary Clap Wooster, one of Wheatley's correspondents and booksellers as well as the recipient of her manuscript copy of "On the Death of General Wooster." Mason, *The Poems of Phillis Wheatley*, 144n25. See also Wheatley, *To the Rev. Mr. Pitkin, on the Death of his Lady*, ll. 23–24.

89. Cavitch, *American Elegy*, 6, 23. While Wheatley's elegies are part of the English elegiac tradition, Gregory Rigsby argues that Wheatley was more heavily influenced by the American Puritan funeral elegy, which was influenced by the funeral sermon. Rigsby, "Form and Content," 248. For more on the influence of the Puritan funeral sermon on the American elegy, see Cavitch, *American Elegy*, 33–79.

90. J. Ellison, *Cato's Tears*, 70.

91. Cavitch, *American Elegy*, 187.

92. For information about Moorhead, see Mason, *Poems of Phillis Wheatley*, 155n30; for more information about Cooper, see Mason, *Poems of Phillis Wheatley*, 172–73n44. Cooper had baptized Wheatley.

93. Carretta, *Phillis Wheatley*, 83.

94. Vincent Carretta speculates: "Wheatley probably heard Whitefield at least one of the four times he preached at the Old South Church in August 1770, a month before his sudden death in Newburyport, Massachusetts. Since Susanna Wheatley corresponded with the Countess [Selina Hastings], Whitefield may well have been a guest in the Wheatley house." Carretta, Introduction to *Phillis Wheatley: Complete Writings*, xiv. John C. Shields suggests that, given the epistolary relationship between the Countess of Huntingdon and Susanna Wheatley, "it is probable that Whitefield was offered accommodations in the Wheatley mansion when visiting Boston." J. Shields, *Phillis Wheatley's Poetics of Liberation*, 116.

95. There were five different almanac variants of *Bickerstaff's* published in New England that year using the same basic text, several of which were published in Hartford. Each almanac was customized to reflect some local information, such as tolls and the tide schedules. *Bickerstaff's* was usually published in September to give people a chance to purchase it well in advance of the coming calendar year. The Wheatley engraving appeared only in the Boston edition of *Bickerstaff* published by Ezekiel Russell. Russell must have known Wheatley personally, given that he was responsible for a number of Wheatley imprints, most importantly the first edition of her Whitefield elegy, which shot her to fame. That he would include Wheatley in the series of title page vignettes, which in years past had included John Hancock, James Otis Jr., George Washington, and Benjamin Franklin, suggests that he thought Bostonians could—and would—identify with Wheatley.

96. For the most accurate information about Wheatley's whereabouts and activities during this time, see Carretta, *Phillis Wheatley*, 172–96.

97. For information about William M'Alpine, see MaryAnn Yodelis Smith's entry on

him in MaryAnn Smith, *Boston Printers, Publishers, and Booksellers: 1640–1800*. Thomas Goldstein reports that Ezekiel Russell "was absent from Boston during the years from 1775 to 1780 while attempting to set up business in Salem and Danvers." Goldstein, "Ezekiel Russell," 438. It is possible—even likely—that Russell's absence limited Wheatley's opportunities to enter into print.

98. Another supporter, Sarah Osborn, had become bedridden in 1778. Grimsted, "Anglo-American Racism," 382.

99. The population of Boston proper dropped from 15,620 in 1765 to approximately 10,000 in 1781. *Municipal Register*, 216.

100. Wheatley and Odell, *Memoir and Poems*, 19.

101. Cavitch, *American Elegy*, 191.

102. Odell reports that Wheatley bore three children, the last of whom was buried with her. Carretta doubts the accuracy of that information, as he has been unable to find birth, death, or baptismal records for any Wheatley children. Carretta, *Phillis Wheatley*, 177. For examples of Wheatley's elegies for children, see "On the Death of a Young Lady of Five Years of Age" and "A Funeral Poem on the Death of C.E. an Infant of Twelve Months," in *Poems on Various Subjects*. Julian Mason suggests that the fragmentary "Prayer," dated 13 June 1779 in the collection of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, expresses Wheatley's anxiety over childbirth. Mason, *The Poems of Phillis Wheatley,* 10. This poem is reprinted in J. Shields, *Collected Works of Phillis Wheatley*, 194, and Wheatley, *Phillis Wheatley: Complete Writings*, 96–97.

103. J. Hammon, "Address to Phillis Wheatly" [sic], 204–5.

104. See, for example, Deverell, "On Reading the Poems of Phillis Wheatley," in *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, 268. Deverell gets some details mixed up: she calls Wheatley the "sweet maid, of Providence," but she gets the essentials right and advises Wheatley to:

> Go on . . .
> Divinely sing, and charm another shore;
> No fetters thus thy genius shall control,
> Nor iron laws restrain thy towering soul.

This same poem was reprinted in the 1792 British poetry anthology *Miscellaneous Extracts*, edited by Richard Osborne, which included not only Deverell's "On Reading," but also Wheatley's "An Address, to the Right Honourable William, Earl of Dartmouth."

105. See, for example, the reprinting of "Goliath of Gath: 1 Sam. Chap. xvii" in the *Juvenile Magazine*, 1 August 1813: 50–57 and "On the Death of J. C. an Infant" and "An Hymn to the Morning" in the *Juvenile Magazine*, 1 August 1813: 20–22.

106. "African Anecdotes" was reprinted in the *Knickerbocker; or New York Monthly Magazine* and J R C S, "Rise and Destinies of Genius" in the *Souvenir*.

107. Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia,* 189. While Jefferson might have misspelled Wheatley's name, that misspelling could be a printer's error.

108. Nott, "From 'Uncultivated Barbarian to 'Poetical Genius,'" 28.

109. See J. Shields, *Phillis Weatley's Poetics of Liberation*, 54–69. Gates notes that Wheatley's reputation took a precipitous dive starting in the 1920s, with especially brutal criticism appearing in the 1960s during the Black Arts movement. Gates, *Trials of Phillis Wheatley*, 75–82. For a sampling of early responses to Wheatley, see Robinson, *Critical Essays on Phillis Wheatley*.

110. For helpful discussions of Bobalition, see Waldstreicher, *In the Midst*, 337–42; Melish, *Disowning Slavery*, 171–82; and, Sweet, *Bodies Politic*, 378–92.

111. Lapsansky, "Afro-Americana," 36–37.

112. Waldstreicher, *In the Midst*, 337.

113. See, for example, Sweet, *Bodies Politic*, 386–87.

114. *Dreadful Riot on Negro Hill!* All quotations are from this edition.

115. Lapsansky explains that Wheatley had been "celebrated as an example of black talent but was now a symbol of the vanity and ostentation of blacks attempting to live beyond their proper station in a white world." Lapsansky, "Phillis Wheatley, Derision, and Celebration," 50; see also Sweet, *Bodies Politic*, 379.

116. Gates, *Signifying Monkey, 92*.

117. For a discussion of Pope's influence on Wheatley, see Sistrunk, "Influence of Alexander Pope."

118. *Dreadful Riot on Negro Hill!*

119. We see in Susannah Wheatley's letter to the Countess of Huntingdon, dated 30 April 1773, her wish that Wheatley dress modestly: "I tell Phillis to act wholly under the direction of your Ladiship. I did not think it worth while nor did the time permit to fit her out with Cloathes; but I have given her money to Buy what you think most proper for her. I like She should be dress'd plain." Quoted in Carretta, *Phillis Wheatley*, 95.

120. For an extended discussion of mimicry and imitation in neoclassical culture, see Slauter, "Neoclassical Culture in a Society with Slaves," 81–122.

121. *Hard Scrabble, or, Miss Philises Bobalition*.

122. Melish, *Disowning Slavery*, 171.

123. Cavitch, *American Elegy*, 55.

124. The literature tracing the evolution of racial discourse is vast. Particularly useful texts include Gossett, *Race*; Jordan, *White over Black*; Hudson, "From 'Nation' to 'Race;'" Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*; and, Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*.

125. "To the Right Honourable William, Earl of Dartmouth," repr. in Carretta, *Phillis Wheatley: Complete Writings*, 40.

Chapter 2. An "Englishman under English Colours"

1. Richard Brodhead notes a similar dynamic of marginality at work in the way that late nineteenth-century regionalist fiction appealed to authors from less privileged

backgrounds. The very parochialism of less privileged individuals who grew up in these regions enabled them to produce regionalist fiction: "regionalism made the experience of the socially marginalized into a literary asset, and so made marginality itself a positive authorial advantage." Brodhead, *Cultures of Letters*, 117.

2. Although Marrant's experiences took the form of a captivity narrative, and it was that generic relationship that drove sales of *Narrative*, Eileen Razzari Elrod argues convincingly for reading his text as a spiritual autobiography. Elrod, *Piety and Dissent*, 38–61.

3. Newspaper accounts frequently document free blacks and slaves who were taken captive on the eighteenth-century frontier, especially in Kentucky and Tennessee. Much less well documented are the experiences of blacks held captive among Indians. For a striking example that was included in a popular anthology, see Frost, "Captivity of Jane Brown and Her Family," 122–63. The extended household of James and Jane Brown, who traveled westward into Tennessee in 1788, was attacked by Cherokee and Creek Indians. They killed several members of the family, stole their livestock, and took captive the mother, several children, and the family's slaves. The white members of the Brown household, the focus of the narrative, later escaped or were ransomed, but the slaves remained in captivity. Twenty-five years later, Colonel Joseph Brown, who had been a child when taken captive, served under General Andrew Jackson during the 1813–14 Creek War. He discovered his family's slaves still living among the Indians and demanded their return as reparations. A commission of American officers and Cherokee allies resolved the case by allowing Cutty-a-toy, the chief, to keep a young black man, but two black women and their children were returned to Brown as slaves. Frost's narrative mentions Brown's satisfaction at this resolution but ignores the experiences of the slave women.

Black slaves often fled slavery to live voluntarily among Indian tribes in the Southeast, especially the Seminole. See, for example, K. Porter, *The Black Seminoles*; Mulroy, *Freedom on the Border*; and Riordan, "Finding Freedom in Florida."

4. Scholarly opinion is divided as to Hammon's status. John Sekora, for example, labels Hammon's text the earliest slave narrative in his essay "Red, White, and Black," but in a revised version of that essay, he concedes that Hammon "may have been simply" a servant: "The earliest putative slave narrative may have been written by a man who was not a slave at all, and that would be one of the least surprising facts about it." Sekora is not alone in his assumption that Hammon was probably a slave, for Marion Wilson Starling, Angelo Costanzo, Michael K. Johnson, Frances Smith Foster, William L. Andrews, Michelle Burnham, and Jeffrey Bolster also discuss Hammon's work as a slave narrative.

Costanzo claims that Hammon emphasizes the fact he is paid while serving in the British navy to suggest the contrast with the unpaid labor of slaves. Michael K. Johnson simply assumes that Hammon was enslaved. Frances Smith Foster also seems inclined to believe that Hammon was a slave, commenting that his emphasis on his freedom to negotiate his employment likely signals the unusual nature of these activities. However,

she goes on to note: "Marrant's and Hammon's narratives are stories of a different sort of bondage and freedom from that dealt with in the genre identified as slave narratives. Nonetheless, they may be considered precursors to the slave narrative." W. Jeffrey Bolster assumes that Hammon was a slave who "negotiated the right for a voyage when his master Winslow's frozen fields were untillable," "prompted by memories of luxuriant Jamaican alternatives to sleety nor'easters." He also claims: "Winslow, of course, pocketed most of the wages." Bolster seems to be speculating rather freely here, as he does not cite a source for this assertion about memories or Winslow's claiming of Hammon's wages. Vincent Carretta, on the other hand, suggests that Hammon may have used "master" merely to mean employer, rather than owner.

See Sekora, "Briton Hammon," 151; Starling, " Slave Narrative," 70–71; Costanzo, *Surprizing Narrative*, 91–93; Andrews, *To Tell a Free Story*, 40; Burnham, *Captivity and Sentiment*, 173; Johnson, *Black Masculinity*, 31; Foster, *Witnessing Slavery*, 40, 42; Bolster, *Black Jacks*, 7–9; Carretta, *Unchained Voices*, 24.

5. B. Hammon, *Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings*, 3. All subsequent references are to this edition of the text.

6. B. Hammon, *Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings*, 13.

7. Ibid., 3.

8. Melish, *Disowning Slavery*, 47.

9. See note 3 in Carretta, *Unchained Voices*, 25.

10. I have been unable to locate General Winslow's will, but his probate documents may be requested from Archives and Records Preservation, Supreme Judicial Court, Boston, Massachusetts. Hammon might well have earned his freedom or died between 1760 and 1774, so his absence from this document does not prove that he was a free man at the time he left Massachusetts in 1747.

11. B. Hammon, *Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings*, 13.

12. General Winslow himself may have served in Cuba during the War of Austrian Succession (1740–48).

13. The Fleming narrative appeared in seven editions in 1756, five in Pennsylvania (including two German-language editions), and one each in New York and Boston. The Boston printing house of Green and Russell published Hammon's narrative four years later.

14. Sekora, "Red, White, and Black," 94.

15. Hammon's failure to name the tribe holding him captive may have stemmed from being captured by Indians from a mixed-nation settlement, as speculated by Daniel Vollaro. Vollaro, "Sixty Indians and Twenty Canoes," 133–47.

16. Sekora notes certain similarities between the typography and language of *A Plain Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings and Remarkable Deliverance of Thomas Brown* (1760) and *A Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings, and Surprizing Deliverance of Briton Hammon* (1760). These commonalties make sense given the cooperative relationship between their respective Boston printers, Fowle and Draper and Green and Russell. Sekora, "Red, White, and Black," 100–101. Further illustrating the house style of Green

and Russell is their edition of the captivity narrative of William and Elizabeth Fleming, published in 1756.

17. For a discussion of the general problems of determining authorship with regard to captivity narratives, see Derounian-Stodola and Levernier, *Indian Captivity Narrative*, 10–15.

18. B. Hammon, *Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings*, 3.

19. Andrews, *To Tell a Free Story*, 20. For further discussion of the role of editors, see 19–22, 33–37.

20. For an excellent discussion of "Bars Fight," see Harris, *Executing Race*, 150–81.

21. Harris, *Executing Race*, 162.

22. Moody, *Faithful Narrative*, 4.

23. Hall, *Cultures of Print*, 36–78, and especially 54–57.

24. Lockridge, *Literacy in Colonial New England*, 13–19.

25. Ibid., 21.

26. Monaghan, *Learning to Read and Write*, 271.

27. Notably, however, Hammon never mentions Bible reading as a subversive activity, even when forced to carry the Bishop of Cuba about in a chair while he performed his duties.

28. Monaghan, *Learning to Read and Write*, 275.

29. Ibid., 276–78.

30. Ibid., 276. As evidence of the growing preference for writing instruction over the teaching of Latin, Monaghan cites the rising enrollments of the Boston writing schools. By 1740, around the time Hammon would have been a young men, enrollments at the writing schools had already outstripped the Latin grammar schools by a ratio of more than two to one. Ibid., 277.

31. Monaghan, *Learning to Read and Write*, 277–78.

32. Ibid., 281–84.

33. Ibid., 280.

34. B. Hammon, *Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings*, 3.

35. Monaghan, *Learning to Read and Write*, 271.

36. Advertisements for Hammon's narrative appeared on the classified advertisements page (typically page four in weekly newspapers of the time) in the 30 June, 7 July, and 14 July 1760 issues of the *Boston Post-Boy* and in the 21 July 1760 issue of the *Boston Evening-Post*. Many narratives were not advertised in the local papers at all, and still others, such Thomas Brown's and William Fleming's, were advertised only two or three times. Hammon's narrative appears to have been advertised more heavily than any other narrative published in Boston in the 1750s and 1760s, with the exception of John Williams's *The Redeemed Captive, Returning to Zion*, a narrative that held tremendous resonance in New England for nearly a century. While Hammon's narrative was advertised four times, a Massachusetts edition of Williams's narrative was advertised five times in 1758.

37. Newman, "Captive on the Literacy Frontier," 31.

38. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 9.

39. Harris, *Executing Race*, 173.

40. Castiglia, *Bound and Determined*, 107. As noted by Derounian-Stodola and Levernier, most English-speaking persons of the eighteenth century who encountered Native Americans generally did so encumbered by preconceived notions of them, often propagated by captivity narratives; such stereotypes then inflect future narratives of captivity. Derounian-Stodola and Levernier, *Indian Captivity Narrative*, 51–73.

41. Sekora, "Red, White, and Black," 96–97, 102–3. As Sekora argues: "Briton Hammon's presence as a subject for a captivity for a time expands the scope of the captivity tale, but at the same time it creates the terms of possibility for the slave narrative. . . . The earlier tale of Indian captivity is easily turned to the later story of southern bondage. One escape teaches another." Sekora, "Red, White, and Black," 103. See also Andrews, *To Tell a Free Story*, 7–12, and Zafar, *We Wear the Mask*, 67–69.

42. Castiglia, *Bound and Determined*, 87–105, 190–93.

43. For examples of propaganda designed to stir up anti-Indian sentiment, see *Captivity and Sufferings of Mrs. Mason, with an Account of the Massacre of Her Youngest Child* (n.d., ca. 1836) and *An Affecting Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Mary Smith* (1815), both of which appear to be faked atrocity stories.

44. Hammon notes that, despite his fear of imminent death during the initial attack and his captivity, the Indians "us'd me pretty well, and gave me boil'd Corn, which was what they often eat themselves." B. Hammon, *Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings*, 7.

45. Devitt, "Generalizing about Genre," 580.

46. Kollock, *True Narrative of the Sufferings of Mary Kinnan*, 109.

47. The eighteenth century saw increasing social, economic, and geographical mobility, especially in British North America. See Henretta, *Evolution of American Society*. This mobility was not limited to whites. Ira Berlin demonstrates that some Atlantic creoles, a term which he uses "to refer to those of African descent but connected to the larger Atlantic World," at different times and places likewise shared in this social, economic, and geographic mobility. Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 381 passim.

48. B. Hammon, *Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings*, 3. Marcus Rediker points out that sailor's wages were higher for risky voyages and during wartime. Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, 116–52.

49. Logwood is the heartwood of a North American tree, *Haematoxylon campechianum*. *The Compact Oxford English Dictionary*, 992. After the English found uses for it, it was planted in the British West Indies. For more on the logwood trade, see chapters 3 and 4 in Naylor, *Penny Ante Imperialism*.

50. Coincidentally, this captain was named John Howland and was based in Plymouth. Probably, he was a distant relative of mechanic John Howland discussed in chapter 6.

51. Vollaro finds this number suspicious, pointing out: "sixty Indians in twenty canoes is exactly the complement that Samuel Penhallow reports attacked a settlement in Merrymeeting Bay, Maine, at the opening of Lovewell's War in the summer of 1722.

Lovewell's War was a three-year campaign of skirmishes between Abenaki Indians allied with the French and English settlers who had moved north into present-day Maine." Vollaro speculates: "This parallel might be an extraordinary coincidence, or it might also point to one of the areas where Hammon or his editor embellished or fictionalized portions of his *Narrative* using a historical account that would have been known to most literate New Englanders. Vollaro, "Sixty Indians and Twenty Canoes," 139–40, 140.

52. B. Hammon, *Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings*, 6.

53. Ibid., 6–7.

54. For a contemporaneous example of this kind of thought, see S. Smith, *An Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species*. For an overview of evolving theories of race in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Gossett, *Race*, 3–53; Hudson, "From 'Nation' to 'Race,'" 247–64; and Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*.

Hudson succinctly summarizes these evolving racial theories, arguing that, influenced by the slave trade and by imperialism, "over the period of a century, 'race' gradually mutated from its original sense of a people or single nation, linked by origin, to its later sense of a biological subdivision of the human species. . . . And 'tribe' was lifted from its originally specialized meaning in the Bible to replace 'nation' in the descriptions of 'savage' peoples. These changes . . . derived in part from the rise of a new science of human taxonomy." Hudson, "From 'Nation' to 'Race,'" 258.

55. B. Hammon, *Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings*, 7. Vollaro casts doubt on the Indians' ability to speak any English, when he points out that part of Florida had long been in Spain's possession and, if the Indians spoke any European languages, it would most likely have been Spanish. Vollaro, "Sixty Indians and Twenty Canoes," 140.

56. Rath, *How Early America Sounded*, 147.

57. Ibid., 148.

58. B. Hammon, *Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings*, 6.

59. Ibid., 6.

60. Ibid., 3.

61. Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 42, 75–76, 138–40.

62. B. Hammon, *Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings*, 10.

63. Ibid., 11.

64. Ibid., 3.

65. Ibid., 13.

66. Ibid., 13. Joanna Brooks notes that Lazarus figures commonly in early black writings as a trope that speaks to both the social death of slavery and "emancipatory black religious thought." J. Brooks, *American Lazarus*, 99.

67. B. Hammon, *Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings*, 14.

68. Ibid., 14.

69. Ibid., 14.

70. Ibid., 14. Hammon's choice to sail for Boston makes it even more likely he was

free. Why would anyone deliberately choose to travel back to the site of one's enslavement?

71. Hammon's preference for Anglo-America suggests that he was either born in the English colonies or brought to them as a small child. Contrast his choice of national identity with that of Bristol Yamma and John Quamine, men who "had been enslaved in the 1750s on the Gold Coast of Africa (present-day Ghana) and brought to Newport, where they had recently [early 1770s] bought their freedom with money from a winning lottery ticket." Carretta, *Phillis Wheatley*, 161. Carretta reports that these men had converted to Christianity but retained their native languages. They sought to return to their homelands in Africa to engage in missionary work sponsored by the Reverend Samuel Hopkins. Carretta, *Phillis Wheatley*, 160–64.

72. Several other works are credited to Marrant: *A Sermon Preached on the 24th Day of June 1789, being the Festival of St. John the Baptist* (Boston, 1789) and *A Journal of the Rev. John Marrant, from August the 18th, 1785 to the 16th of March 1790. To which are Added, Two Sermons: One Preached on Ragged Island on Sabbath Day, the 27th Day of October 1787; the Other at Boston, in New England, on Thursday, the 24th of June, 1787* (London, 1790). While Marrant undeniably delivered *A Sermon Preached on the 24th Day of June 1789*, Adam Potkay and Sandra Burr question whether Marrant independently authored this text. They suggest that Prince Hall, at the least, may have edited this work. Potkay and Burr, *Black Atlantic Writers*, 73.

73. Jackson, *Annals of English Verse, 1770–1835* indicates that Whitchurch also authored *Elegy on the Death of the Honourable Mr. Thomas Tuppen* (1795), *Hispaniola, a Poem* (1804), *A Monody to the Memory of Admiral Hyde Parker* (1785), and *The Bath Lovers; or, Mercenary Courtship* (1785).

74. Whitchurch, *Negro Convert*, 3.

75. Ibid., 13.

76. Whitchurch establishes several different Christian typologies for Marrant's experiences: the conversion of Saul to Paul (lines 9 and 11) and Marrant as being "Like Bunyan's joyful pilgrim" (line 14).

77. Whitchurch, *Negro Convert*, 8.

78. Ibid., 8, 9.

79. Ibid., 10.

80. Ibid., 12.

81. Ibid., 14.

82. Ibid., 15.

83. Joanna Brooks notes the parallels with Joseph in her discussion of the prose version of Marrant's narrative. J. Brooks, *American Lazarus*, 99.

84. Whitchurch, *Negro Convert*, 15–16.

85. Ibid., 21.

86. Marrant, *Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings*, 38.

87. Ibid., 23–24.

88. *New English Bible*.

89. Wheatley, "On Being Brought from Africa to America," 13.

90. Marrant, *Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings*, 7, 14.

91. Ibid., 8, 9.

92. Marrant indicates that only his youngest sister recognizes him after his sojourn in the wilderness. Marrant, *Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings*, 29.

93. Marrant, *Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings*, v.

94. Potkay and Burr, *Black Atlantic Writers*, 70–73. VanDerBeets, *Held Captive by Indians*, 177 also notes an 1820 Middletown, Connecticut, edition. See also D. Porter, "Early American Negro Writings," 192–268.

95. Marrant, *Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings*, 9.

96. Ibid., 10–11.

97. Ibid., 12.

98. Frey and Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion*, 75.

99. Ibid., 92. Frey and Wood point out the irony of Whitefield's acknowledgment of black intellectual potential, given that he was a slave owner. Ibid., 93.

100. Marrant, *Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings*, 13–14.

101. Ibid., 14–16.

102. Ibid., 16.

103. Stephen Brandon has argued that Marrant radically misreads these events. The Cherokee, Brandon explains, more than likely believed Marrant to be a witch, based on his behavior. Their subsequent attentions to him, then, stemmed not from their sincere conviction in Christianity, but rather from their caution in dealing with a person of unknown powers. Brandon, "Sacred Fires and Sovereign Rhetorics," 44–80. Brandon's work in reclaiming the Cherokee position from Marrant's *Narrative* deepens our insight into this cross-cultural contact. But Marrant's misreading of this contact enables him to substantiate his own relationship to Christ, as Christ's apostle in the wilderness. Indeed Marrant's experiences in this community are both paramount and definitive, allowing him to consolidate for his readers his identity as a Christian Englishman, one for whom race assumes a subsidiary importance.

104. Mark 16:15–18 (*New English Bible*).

105. Marrant, *Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings*, 23. Marrant's captivity experience illustrates the multiple genres in which his text operates. Henry Louis Gates Jr. emphasizes the episode of the talking book, for this trope also appears in the narratives of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, Olaudah Equiano, Ottobah Cugoano, and John Jea. While Gates acknowledges the pull of Marrant's conversion tale, he argues that it is "his reworking of Gronniosaw's trope of the Talking Book" which lends Marrant's text its historical significance in the black literary tradition, "because he was the tradition's first revisionist. My idea of tradition, in part, turns upon this definition of texts read by an author and then Signified upon in some formal way, as an implicit commentary on grounding and on satisfactory modes of representation—in this instance, a mode of rep-

resentation of the black pious pilgrim who descends into a chaotic wilderness of sin, is captured, suffers through several rather unbelievable trials of faith, then emerges whole and cleansed and devout." Gates, *Signifying Monkey,* 145.

The captivity genre operates under a similar principle of repetition of structural principles, language, images, and tropes. Marrant's narrative, while playing a double role as a conversion narrative and a captivity narrative, participates in this circulation of tropes. The torture to which the Cherokees initially sentence him—having a basket of splinters soaked in turpentine driven into his body and then set alight—appears repeatedly in narratives published after Marrant's, among them: "Affecting History of the Dreadful Distresses of Frederic Manheim's Family," which purports to have occurred in 1779, but was not actually published until 1793, when it gave its name to the so-called "Manheim Anthology"; *An Affecting Narrative of Mrs. Mary Smith* (1815); and Eunice Barber's *Narrative of the Tragical Death of Mr. Darius Barber and His Seven Children* (1818). Both "Distresses" and *An Affecting Narrative* are likely faked texts, as no one has ever verified even the existence of the Manheim family or Mrs. Mary Smith. Regardless of whether Marrant originated this trope, his text helped to popularize and increase the circulation of this image of Indian torture of the Anglo-American.

106. Homi K. Bhabha discusses at length the varied meanings of English books among the colonized. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 102–22.

107. Marrant, *Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings*, 24.

108. Ibid., 28.

109. Ibid., 24.

110. Ibid., 26–27.

111. Burnham, *Captivity and Sentiment*, 125.

112. Before Marrant returns home, he proselytizes among other Indian nations, eventually visiting the Creek, Chickasaw, and Choctaw, although he does not see that he has any "saving" effect upon them; Marrant, *Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings*, 25.

113. Marrant, *Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings*, 14.

114. For a discussion of biblical types in Marrant's narrative, see Costanzo, *Surprizing Narrative*, 96–102, and Elrod, *Piety and Dissent*, 49–53.

115. Montgomery, "Recapturing John Marrant," 108.

116. Marrant, *Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings*, 30.

117. Johnson, *Black Masculinity*, 44.

118. Marrant, *Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings*, 31, 32.

119. Ibid., 32.

120. Whitchurch, *Negro Convert*, 16.

121. Here, I differ from Eileen Razzari Elrod, who speculates: "the material exclusive to the fourth edition was not a part of the life story that constituted the original ordination sermon, directed, at least in part, to Selina Hastings." Elrod, *Piety and Dissent*, 46. Evidence from *The Negro Convert* suggests that Aldridge deliberately elided the plantation episode from his version of the *Narrative*.

122. Marrant, *Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings*, v.
123. Gates, *Signifying Monkey*, 145.
124. Marrant, *Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings*, 38–39.
125. *New English Bible*.

Chapter 3. "Common, Plain, Every Day Talk" from "An Uncommon Quarter"

1. Samson Occom's *A Sermon, Preached at the Execution of Moses Paul, an Indian* was printed by T. & S. Green in New Haven in 1772. Unless otherwise noted, all references are to this first edition of Occom's sermon.

2. For a list of the editions, see Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 174–75n8.

3. The best source for accessing these documents is J. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*.

4. The correspondence between these two writers, which led to the publication of Wheatley's letter to Occom on the topics of race and religion, published in the 11 March 1774 issue of the *Connecticut Gazette; and the Universal Intelligencer*, invites comparisons between the two. For an excellent discussion of how Wheatley and Occom negotiated eighteenth-century theories of race, see Chiles, "Becoming Colored."

5. Although both men and women were executed in New England, the basis for their convictions differed to some extent. Women were more likely than men to be executed for witchcraft (at least in the seventeenth century) or infanticide, while men were more likely to be executed for the murders of other adults. Harris's *Executing Race: Early American Women's Narratives of Race, Society, and the Law* provides an excellent overview of the treatment of infanticide, to take just one example of a capital crime. Sex, race, and marital status influenced charge and conviction rates. Most of the convictions were for servants, whether free or indentured, and slaves. Statistics that Harris provides bear out these claims: "Between 1680 and 1779, sixty-eight women were indicted for murder in New England; 90 percent of the indictments were for infanticide. In the same period, 156 men were indicted for murder, but only 7 percent for infanticide." As Harris reports, "the typical situation in cases brought to trial was of a woman who was unmarried, often without familial or community support, and without sufficient knowledge of the legal system to challenge charges brought against her." White women and women of color were treated differently by the courts: "Between 1670 and 1780, black women were found guilty of the crime of infanticide at a rate one and one-half times that for white women, despite the fact that blacks (men and women combined) constituted only 3 to 4 percent of the New England population." See Harris, *Executing Race*, 26, 33, 39.

6. Bouwman, "Samson Occom and the Sermonic Tradition," 63.

7. For discussions of Occom's relationship with Wheelock, see Elliott, "This Indian Bait," 236–48.

8. Monaghan, *Learning to Read and Write*, 48. Bernd C. Peyer notes that missionary organizations active in the English colonies include "financially powerful church organizations such as the New England Company (1649, 1661), the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG, 1701), and the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK, 1709)." See Peyer, *Tutor'd Mind*, 59.

9. Monaghan, *Learning to Read and Write,* 62. Monaghan notes: "The striking lack of commitment to presenting the Bible in Massachusett, along with the new insistence after 1700 on bilingual texts of Massachusett and English, is symptomatic of a change in the official attitude toward native Americans. Indians were increasingly expected to conform to English ways, including learning English." See Monaghan, *Learning to Read and Write*, 78. Philip H. Round observes that Occom frequently requested copies of books in his correspondence. See Round, "Samson Occom and Native Print Literacy," 79, 81–82.

10. For a discussion of these texts produced by Indians, see Goddard and Bragdon, *Native Writings in Massachusett*.

11. Den Ouden, *Beyond Conquest*, 31.

12. Monaghan, *Learning to Read and Write*, 55, 64.

13. David D. Hall discusses some of the reasons why printed translations were abandoned. Tribes did not always share the same dialect, and translating theological concepts appropriately was challenging. See Hall, Introduction to *A History of the Book in America,* 15–22.

14. Monaghan, *Learning to Read and Write*, 71–75.

15. Wyss, *Writing Indians*, 59, 54. Wyss draws information from Experience Mayhew's *Indian Converts* (1727).

16. This cultural dislocation did not end with the eighteenth century. Nineteenth-century Pequot writer William Apess provides a searing account in *A Son of the Forest* (1831) of his alienation from his Indian origins that arose from precisely these kinds of circumstances.

17. Mandell, *Behind the Frontier*, 202.

18. Boston's narrative was not published until two years after her death. Moody notes in the preface that her narrative was originally going to be published by subscription, but lack of subscribers stalled that initial attempt at publication. See Moody, *Faithful Narrative*, ii.

19. For a discussion of Boston's agency in constructing her narrative, see Harvey, "Taken from Her Mouth," 256–70.

20. Murray, *Forked Tongues*, 57.

21. Moody, *Faithful Narrative*, 6, 1, 2.

22. Mandell, *Behind the Frontier*, 182–83.

23. Moody, *Faithful Narrative*, 4.

24. Ibid., 29.

25. Ibid., i.

26. Williams, *Pillars of Salt*, x.

27. Moody, *Faithful Narrative*, 1; Peyer, discussing the work of Paulo Freire, notes: "That colonial schoolmasters ever intended for Indians to gain an equal intellectual standing in Anglo-American society is unlikely. . . . colonial education policy tends to traumatize the transcultural individual, giving rise to conflicts of identity and feelings of inferiority." See Peyer, *Tutor'd Mind*, 7.

28. Vine Deloria Jr. and others have asserted that a fundamental difference in thinking between Native Americans and immigrants to the Americas is that Native peoples prioritize space while people from Western Europe privilege linear time. Deloria explains: "American Indians hold their lands—places—as having the highest possible meaning, and all their statements are made with this reference point in mind. . . . When one group is concerned with the philosophical problem of space and the other with the philosophical problem of time, then the statements of either group do not make much sense when transferred from one context to the other." See Deloria, *God Is Red*, 62–63. Along similar lines, George Tinker writes: "This foundational metaphor of spatiality in Indian cultures also begins to clarify the extent to which Indian spirituality and Indian existence are deeply rooted in our attachment to the land and to specific territories." See Tinker, *American Indian Liberation*, 71–72, but more generally "Spatiality: Place vs. Time," 70–74. Amy Den Ouden discusses land conflict specifically in Connecticut, arguing that conquest was always driven by white desire to appropriate Native lands; see Den Ouden, *Beyond Conquest*.

29. Occom, *Collected Writings*, 52–53 ("Autobiographical Narrative, Second Draft"). Drawing upon the work of W. DeLoss Love in *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, Joanna Brooks notes: "In 1723, John Mason established a school at Mohegan that was supported by the colony and missionary societies, and a schoolhouse for Mohegan children was built in 1727. . . . During the 1730s, Samuel Avery and Jonathan Barber followed Mason as Mohegan schoolmasters, but the school failed in 1738 when community members refused to send their children amid deepening land controversies between Mason and the tribe." See J. Brooks, "This Indian World," 53n30.

30. J. Brooks, "This Indian World," 12, 10. For a concise history of the Mohegan tribe, see 9–12.

31. Occom, *Collected Writings*, 53 ("Autobiographical Narrative, Second Draft").

32. Ibid., 54.

33. L. Brooks, *Common Pot*, 84–86. Brooks provides a comprehensive discussion of the long-running Mohegan land case, often called the Mason case, in which the tribal leadership and leadership decisions were disputed amidst colonial encroachments on Mohegan lands. *Mohegan Indians v. Connecticut* lasted from 1704 to 1773 and was eventually decided in favor of the colony of Connecticut. See L. Brooks, *Common Pot*, 51–105 (chapter 2: "Restoring a Dish Turned Upside Down"). For an expansive discussion of the roots of this case, see Den Ouden, *Beyond Conquest*, 91–141. For a more concise summary, see Peyer, *Tutor'd Mind*, 62–63.

34. Occom, *Collected Writings*, 54 ("Autobiographical Narrative, Second Draft,").

35. Elliott, "This Indian Bait," 234.

36. David Hall notes that several other Native American compositions were preserved in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*. See Hall, Introduction to *A History of the Book in America*, 23 and 528n55. Ava Chamberlain clarifies that Occom was not the first Native American to have been published independently in English. A letter written by Joseph Johnson to Moses Paul was advertised in the *Connecticut Journal* in April 1772. See Chamberlain, "Execution of Moses Paul," 415.

37. Although Daniel Mandell's work focuses specifically on Massachusetts, much of what he has to say about the emergence of the ethnic Indian as a category of identity applies to New England in general. As Native enclaves resisted confiscation of their resources, Native populations dispersed throughout New England, often clustering in urban and coastal areas where work was more available. For an overview of this process, see Mandell, *Behind the Frontier*, 1–7.

38. Bross, *Dry Bones and Indian Sermons*, 192.

39. Seeman, *Pious Persuasions*, 62.

40. Bross, *Dry Bones and Indian Sermons*, 189–90.

41. Murray, *Forked Tongues*, 34.

42. Eliot, *Dying Speeches of Several Indians*, 1–7. In his preface, Eliot explains that at the urging of Major Gookins, Daniel, a Christian Indian, collected these speeches, "in the Language as they were spoken," and Eliot then translated and wrote them in English.

43. Eliot, *Dying Speeches of Several Indians*, 7.

44. Singling out Native Americans as especially susceptible to the sin of drunkenness put a special burden, a special humiliation upon the Indian convert. Although the purpose of the execution sermon was vastly different from the purpose of the dying Indian confession, they share certain thematic elements. Native Americans came in for special criticism of the effects of alcohol, as we see from the title of a sermon by Samuel Danforth: *The Woeful Effects of Drunkenness. A Sermon, Preached at Bristol, Octob. 12, 1709, When Two Indians, Josias and Joseph, Were Executed for Murther, Occasioned by the Drunkenness Both of the Murthering and Murthered Parties* (1710). As Wayne C. Minnick's study of the execution sermon reveals, drunkenness as the cause of sin, especially murder and rape, was a consistent theme running throughout the history of the genre. Minnick proposes: "So frequent and elaborate were arguments against drink in the execution sermons as to suggest that attitudes were developing strength which would, in the next century, originate and sustain the temperance and prohibition movements." See Minnick, "New England Execution Sermon," 86.

45. See Apess, "Son of the Forest" (1831), and Seaver, *Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison* (1824). Although beyond the scope of my study, Jemison's narrative is a fascinating example of collaborative authorship. Jemison, a white woman who was taken captive as a child and lived the rest of her life among the Seneca, lost her ability to read and write, but she never lost her understanding of the valence of print to white culture. As an elderly woman, she collaborated with Seaver to produce a narrative of her experiences.

46. As a consequence of the Puritan reliance on the Bible to determine capital crimes, fewer crimes were counted as capital crimes, relative to England. Massachusetts Bay Colony ranked 12 crimes as capital crimes in its first criminal code, while 50 crimes ranked as capital crimes in seventeenth-century England. See Seay, *Hanging between Heaven and Earth*, 23.

47. Seay, *Hanging between Heaven and Earth*, 14.

48. Williams, *Pillars of Salt*, x.

49. Bosco, "Lectures at the Pillory," 159.

50. Cohen, *Pillars of Salt*, 3.

51. Minnick suggests: "The size of audiences assembled to hear execution sermons was probably between 550 and 850 persons. The biggest New England meeting house would seat no more than 750 people and the smaller ones 500, but for this type of sermon the pews were usually jammed and additional auditors stood about the walls and at the windows." See Minnick, "New England Execution Sermon," 79.

52. For an overview of these genres, see Cohen, *Pillars of Salt*, 13–16.

53. *A Short Account of Moses Paul . . . This Day to be Executed.*

54. *Mr. Occom's Address to His Indian Brethren* (Boston: Printed by Thomas and John Fleet, [1773]).

55. Cohen notes: "It is impossible to know just who wrote most of the execution poems of early New England. A few may have been penned by the dying criminals to whom they were conventionally attributed. . . . However, most of the dying verses were probably written by the printers themselves or members of their households." See Cohen, *Pillars of Salt*, 20.

56. Cohen, *Pillars of Salt*, 10. Minnick notes: "The exact number of execution sermons preached between 1639 and 1800 is impossible to determine; that the number was substantial is indicated by the fact that sixty-seven printed texts of this genre authored by forty-nine different ministers have been preserved." Minnick, "New England Execution Sermon," 77.

57. Cohen speculates: "It seems likely that execution sermons not only reached a large geographic area but also engaged readers of a wide range of social ranks and classes." See Cohen, *Pillars of Salt*, 5.

58. Cohen, *Pillars of Salt*, 29.

59. Minnick, "New England Execution Sermon," 78.

60. Bercovitch, *Rites of Assent*, 35, 34.

61. Williams, *Pillars of Salt*, x.

62. Minnick, "New England Execution Sermon," 78.

63. Halttunen, *Murder Most Foul*, 20 (quoting John Rogers).

64. Ava Chamberlain provides the best overview of Moses Paul's trial, conviction, and appeals, including a discussion of how race played into the trial and the appeals process. See Chamberlain, "Execution of Moses Paul," 414–50.

65. All references in this paragraph are to the unnumbered Preface and Introduction to the first edition, printed by T. & S. Green of New Haven.

66. All references in this paragraph are to the unnumbered preface to the first edition.

67. Hugh Amory notes that Occom was the seventh most reprinted author in the colonies and early United States in the period from 1771 to 1780, with 14 reprints of his sermon in that decade. See Amory, "Note on Statistics," 518.

68. Occom, *Sermon*, 5–6.

69. Ibid., 17.

70. Here I refer to the London editions of 1788 and 1789.

71. Occom, *Sermon*, 7, 10.

72. Ibid., 30.

73. L. Brooks, *Common Pot*, 97–98; J. Brooks, "This Indian World," 18–19; Peyer, *Tutor'd Mind*, 72–74.

74. Occom, *Sermon*, 19.

75. Ibid., 21. For a discussion of monogenesis and polygenesis, see Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*, 14–33. Katy Chiles concurs with this monogenetic reading of Occom, albeit for slightly different reasons. She argues: "Marshaling aspects of monogenetic natural history that validated Christian creationism, Occom and Wheatley represent the process of becoming colored as a God-inspired design, one that establishes universality and variegates beautifully the diversity of humankind." Chiles, "Becoming Colored," 1399.

76. Occom, *Sermon*, 22.

77. Ibid., 23.

78. Seay, *Hanging between Heaven and Earth*, 63.

79. Ibid., 49–59; Halttunen, *Murder Most Foul*, 13–14.

80. Occom, *Sermon*, 21, 25–26.

81. Grandjean, "Our *Fellow-Creatures*," 926–27. While I find persuasive Grandjean's argument about execution narratives, I am less persuaded by her claim that "No such divide" with regard to the civilized English and the savage Indian "appears in crime literature." The prevalence of such crime literature, disproportionate relative to the size of the Native American population in New England, would have continued to shape readers' associations of Indians with crime. While auditors might sympathize with the condemned as a sinner, it seems less likely they would "identify with the condemned." See Grandjean, 929. Grandjean seems to overread the early Puritan application of covenant theology to sin, wherein, as Scott Seay explains, persuaded of the universality of original sin, "preachers often argued that capital criminals do not differ qualitatively from ordinary New Englanders; they only differ quantitatively in terms of the number and severity of their sins." See Seay, *Hanging between Heaven and Earth*, 53. Eighteenth-century capital cases were generally for horrific crimes: infanticide, murder, rape, and piracy (which frequently combined murder with robbery). I find it hard to believe that auditors and readers of sermons would have identified in any but the most general sense with the condemned and find it more likely they would have instead felt a sense of satisfaction at justice being rendered.

82. Occom, *Sermon*, Introduction, 26.

83. Ibid., 27–28.

84. Ibid., 29, 31.

85. Ibid., 31. For an overview of the accusations directed at Occom by Eleazar Wheelock, see Bouwman, "Samson Occom and the Sermonic Tradition," 64–66. As Bouwman and others point out, Occom frequently discussed the importance of temperance in his preaching; see Bouwman, "Samson Occom and the Sermonic Tradition," 65–71.

86. Minnick notes that a number of sermons published between 1674 and 1796 discussed the problem of drunkenness, including sermons by Samuel Danforth (both the elder and the younger), Cotton Mather, John Campbell, Aaron Hutchinson and Timothy Langdon. See Minnick, "New England Execution Sermon," 85.

87. Occom, *Sermon*, 31.

88. As Sacvan Bercovitch explains: "The American jeremiad was a ritual designed to join social criticism to spiritual renewal." See Bercovitch, *American Jeremiad*, xi. Bosco notes that the "execution sermon developed in New England as a form of jeremiad." Bosco, "Lectures at the Pillory," 162. Halttunen concurs, arguing: "The execution sermon was a major expression of the jeremiad, the predominant literary form of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, which lamented declension in the Holy Commonwealth and exhorted the people of New England to restore their special relationship with God by returning to moral righteousness and spiritual awakening." See Halttunen, *Murder Most Foul*, 22.

89. Occom, *Sermon*, 29, 31.

Chapter 4. Becoming "The American Heroine"

1. Since the nineteenth century, Sampson has sometimes been described as a person of color. After exhaustive research regarding Sampson's race, Alfred Young has concluded that there is no persuasive evidence that Sampson was a person of color; instead, a variety of evidence suggests that she was white. Young concludes that the belief Sampson was black probably originated from an inference in William Nell's *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution* (1855), in which Nell relates an anecdote about a black soldier reminiscing about Deborah Sampson. Young, *Masquerade*, 297–302.

Further evidence to support Sampson's whiteness may be found in the explicit language Mann uses in *The Female Review*, such as when he labels Sampson one of the "illustrious *Fair*," racialized language reserved during this time specifically to indicate white women. Mann, *Female Review*, 38. For discussion of the term American "fair," see Schloesser, *Fair Sex*, 8.

2. Recent works by feminist historians place Sampson in the context of thousands of working class women who fought in armed conflicts in early modern Europe and in the American Civil War. See E. Leonard, *All the Daring*, 266–67. Leonard asserts that many of these women were motivated by a combination of patriotism augmented by the

potential for economic rewards. She explains: "Although Sampson boldly declared the patriotic impulse behind her enlistment, one must acknowledge that her claims of ardent patriotism as her sole motive for joining the army came in the context of a request for back pay from a government body that most likely would have been highly skeptical about her claims of service, and in the context of her performance before curious, perhaps even incredulous audiences who were likely to be uncomfortable with the idea of her 'unsexing' herself, and who wanted an explanation that could comfortably justify such behavior." Leonard suggests two other possible reasons for Sampson's imposture: desire to escape a drunken fiancé and avoidance of punishment for her prior enlistment as "Timothy Thayer." E. Leonard, *All the Daring*, 263, 264.

3. Sampson first enlisted in the Continental Army in 1782 under the name "Timothy Thayer." After collecting the signing bonus, Sampson proceeded to get drunk at a tavern. "Timothy Thayer" disappeared when Sampson resumed her true identity. When her masquerade was discovered, Sampson was warned against such imposture and forced to repay the unspent money. The name that Sampson used during her second enlistment appears in military documents and popular publications of the time in over a dozen different spellings, among them Shurtliff, Shirtliff, Shurtlief, and Shirtlief.

4. Sampson was commonly called in newspapers of the day an "American heroine," a phrase used by Philip Freneau in his newspaper the *Time-Piece*. "The American Heroine" appears after Sampson's name on the title page of *Address Delivered with Applause*, the oration she delivered on her 1802 speaking tour. More recently, she has become a feminist symbol and, still more recently, in works such as *Improper Bostonians*, an early transvestite icon. Sampson's evolving literary and historical manifestations are traced in Hiltner, "The Example of Our Heroine."

5. Bailey enlisted in February 1777 and served for approximately three weeks, even being promoted to corporal, before her sex was discovered. How this discovery came about is unknown. When she appeared in court on 26 August 1777, she was sentenced to be imprisoned for two months, fined £16, and directed to pay the costs of prosecution. Patrick J. Leonard asserts that "only a few musty court records have been found containing additional information of this individual. None of the existent newspapers contain[s] any mention of [Bailey]. No known family histories, diaries, letters or any other memorabilia have yielded the slightest crumb of data on her." P. Leonard, "Ann Bailey," 1.

6. Young, *Masquerade*, 7.

7. Quoted in Fridlington, "'Diversion' in Newark," 77–78.

8. For extensive discussions of Republican wifehood and motherhood, see Kerber, *Women of the Republic* and Norton, *Liberty's Daughters.*

9. Sampson's literary representations have served the ideological and financial needs of their various authors as much as they served Sampson's needs, as Judith Hiltner recently argued with regard to Herman Mann's authorship, in accordance with his own republican principles, of both Sampson's biography and her oration. Hiltner explains:

"Having accepted the rhetorical challenge of endorsing what he clearly deemed a dangerous model for his female readers, whom he both flatters and chastises throughout the text, Mann attempts to defuse and excuse Sampson's radical violation of gender assumptions even as he extols her sacrifice for national liberty." Hiltner, "She Bled in Secret," 191. Hiltner further argues that Mann borrowed from a number of sources for his biography of Sampson, among them Enos Hitchcock's 1793 novel *The Farmer's Friend* and Robert Walker's *The Female Soldier; or the Surprising Life and Adventures of Hannah Snell*, the story of a cross-dressing woman who enlisted in the English army. Hiltner, "She Bled in Secret," 193–94, 200–204. Sandra Gustafson makes a similar observation about the relationship between *The Female Review* and *The Female Soldier* in Gustafson, "The Genders of Nationalism," 391.

10. See, for example, Mann, *Female Review*, 155. *The Compact Oxford English Dictionary* defines "smock-faced" as "having a pale, smooth face; effeminate-looking." *Compact Oxford English Dictionary*, 1803. Interestingly, Eugene Tappan, editor of Sampson's 1802 diary, quotes Daniel Johnson as recalling Sampson as being "a person of plain features." Johnson was a friend of Sampson's grandchildren and frequently visited the family household. Tappan, preface to *Diary of Deborah Sampson Gannett*, 6.

11. Ellet, *Women of the American Revolution*, 2:130. Ellet claimed to have heard of, but not to have read, *The Female Review* when she published the first two volumes of *The Women of the American Revolution* in 1848. Ellet tells us that she received her information from the niece of Captain Tisdale, under whom Sampson had served in the Continental Army. This woman also claimed to have engaged in a flirtation with Sampson when she was in her guise as Robert Shurtliff. Ellet, *Women of the American Revolution*, 2:122.

12. *Compact Oxford English Dictionary*, 1104. "Molly" could also mean an "effeminate man or boy; a milksop." However, in eighteenth-century England, "Molly" was frequently used as slang for a male prostitute.

13. For an example of one of these testimonials—unsigned in this case—see the short report that appears in the *New York Gazette* on 10 January 1784. It contains concrete details that could have come only from Sampson or a soldier who knew her well.

14. Bloch, "Gendered Meanings of Virtue," 140.

15. *The Independent Gazette; or the New-York Journal Revived*, 10 January 1784, reprinted in C. Davis, "A 'Gallantress' Gets Her Due," 322.

16. A description of this petition was published in the *Massachusetts Magazine*. See Freneau, "Minutes of the Proceedings of the State Legislature," 57–58.

17. Carey, "Female Heroism," 110.

18. For a discussion of the intersections of gender with the citizen-soldier, see Winterer, *Mirror of Antiquity*, 71–79.

19. Breen, "Making History," 67–95.

20. In his request for a federal pension after Sampson's death, her husband, Benjamin Gannett, claimed that she suffered years of pain from a musket ball embedded in her leg.

21. Freneau, *Poems of Philip Freneau*, 3:182.

22. Freneau, "On Deborah Gannett," 2. Although essentially the same in its praise of Sampson's honor and comparison of her to Joan of Arc, a slightly revised version of this poem appears in the three-volume edition of Freneau's poems edited by Fred Lewis Pattee.

23. Young, *Masquerade*, 195.

24. Freneau, *Poems of Philip Freneau*, 182. This petition was ultimately unsuccessful. The petition itself is not extant, but based on newspaper reports, Young suggests that it may not have clearly indicated it was an invalid petition, and so perhaps was sent incorrectly to the Committee on Claims. Young, *Masquerade*, 193–95.

25. Mann reveals that he and Sampson began discussing this project in 1795. Mann, *Female Review*, 39.

26. Throughout his biography, particularly in part 2, Young rigorously interrogates *The Female Review* against the documentary evidence of Sampson's life and histories of the Revolution. He carefully distinguishes what can be proven true, what might be true, and what probably is not true.

27. Sobel, "Revolution in Selves," 167.

28. Ibid., 168, 170.

29. Mann, *Female Review*, 45–52. John Adams Vinton, who published a nineteenth-century edition of *The Female Review*, expends great effort to establish an illustrious lineage for Sampson, linking her not only with William Bradford, but also with Miles Standish, John Alden, and other settlers of Plymouth; see Vinton, *Female Review*, 45–52 (footnotes).

30. Young points out that Sampson's "mother, Deborah Bradford, was the great-granddaughter of William Bradford (1590–1657), the first governor of the Plymouth Colony." Her father, Jonathan Samson Jr., was also a Mayflower descendant. Young, *Masquerade*, 24.

31. Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind*; and Craven, *Legend of the Founding Fathers*.

32. Seelye, *Memory's Nation*, 1–2, 24.

33. Adams, *Oration, Delivered at Plymouth*, 9.

34. Mann, *Female Review*, 37–38.

35. Ibid., 136, 52.

36. Alfred Young claims that Mann commissioned Joseph Stone to produce this portrait. William Beastall made a copy of the portrait, which George Graham engraved for the frontispiece of *The Female Review*. Young, *Masquerade*, 188.

37. Even the position of Sampson's body within the portrait was fashionable, for Dorinda Evans notes that the bust-length portrait was popularized during the Federal period by Gilbert Stuart, "who undeniably set the standard of fashion. The specific bust type popularized by Stuart had appeared in the colonial period and showed the sitter from about the elbows up, with shoulders and head usually turned together to a three-quarter view." D. Evans, "Survival and Transformation," 128.

38. For discussion of portrayals of the female warrior in the late eighteenth century, see Gustafson, "Genders of Nationalism," 389–95.

39. Higham, "Indian Princess and Roman Goddess," 66.

40. Higham traces this evolving iconography throughout "Indian Princess and Roman Goddess."

41. Erkkila, "Phillis Wheatley," 162.

42. Winterer, *Mirror of Antiquity*, 117–25. Winterer notes that this style came into vogue in the 1790s.

43. Meridith Wright discusses the popularity of bead necklaces in Wright, *Everyday Dress in Rural America, 1783–1800*, 19. For additional information about eighteenth-century dress, see also Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*.

44. Winterer, *Mirror of Antiquity*, 118.

45. T. H. Breen reminds us that "the portrait was a project to which all participants brought a bundle of cultural assumptions. . . . In other words, eighteenth-century painters were not engaged in the production of what we might call an objective 'likeness.' If they were to be successful in the provincial market, they had to craft images that resonated with broadly shared cultural meanings." Breen, "Meaning of 'Likeness,'" 39.

46. At least two of the former officers with whom Sampson stayed were also likely instrumental in helping her obtain her federal pension. Judge John Patterson of Lisle, New York, who held the rank of General in the Continental Army, served in the U.S. House of Representatives, along with William Eustis. It was to Eustis that Paul Revere wrote his 1804 letter praising Sampson's character and describing her situation. Revere and Sampson lived in the same neighborhood and knew one another. Revere praises her as "a woman of handsome talents, good morals, a dutiful wife, and an affectionate parent," adding that "She is now much out of health," referring to her need for the federal pension. E. Evans, *Weathering the Storm*, 330.

47. Gannett, *Diary*, 9–10.

48. Mann, *Female Review*, 39. Sampson's diary indicates that her primary concerns during her speaking tour were illness, financial worries, and loneliness at her separation from her family, primarily her three children and the foster daughter she raised from infancy. She repeatedly mentions her sorrow at her separation from her children, but she never mentions anxiety about performing before audiences of strangers. Indeed, at one point, she seems to relish her performance, especially when she overhears members of the audience swearing that she "was a lad of not more than Eighteen years of age." Sampson at this point would have been forty-one years old. To heighten the suspense for this audience, Sampson recalls that she then "sat for some time in My chair before I rose to Deliver my Address." Gannett, *Diary*, 11.

49. For more on how Sampson is feminized in both the biography and the *Address*, see Vietto, *Women and Authorship*, 67–69.

50. Young, *Masquerade*, 150.

51. Ibid., 260. Young cites the diary of Herman Mann Jr. to support this claim.

52. Elmes-Crahall, "Deborah Sampson Gannett," 383.

53. The authorship of the *Address* has been the subject of some dispute. Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, for example, argues for a collaboration between Sampson and Mann, with Sampson being the primary author. Campbell, "Gender and Genre," 486. Hiltner, however, argues the reverse—that Mann was the primary author of the oration. She cites as evidence the close textual similarities between *The Female Review* and the *Address*, as well as similarities in imagery to Mann's newspaper columns. Hiltner, "Like a Bewildered Star," 5, 8.

54. See, for example, *The Manual Exercise*.

55. Gannett, *Addr[e]ss Delivered with Applause*, 6.

56. Ibid., 8.

57. Ibid., 8, 12.

58. Ibid., 10.

59. Ibid., 12.

60. Garber, *Vested Interests*, 69.

61. Gustafson, "Genders of Nationalism," 382.

62. See Agnew, *Worlds Apart*, 12–14 passim, for the English history of the theatrum mundi. For American adaptations of the trope, see Richards, *Theater Enough*, 247–64. The metaphor of the Revolution as a theater of action continued to receive play in the nineteenth century. Nearly fifty years after Sampson's speech, Elizabeth Ellet wrote: "Many among the actors in that momentous drama, whose deeds should have been recorded, are scarcely mentioned." Ellet, *Women of the American Revolution*, 3:iii. Further, in the preface to the first volume, she repeatedly speaks of the "scenes" of the Revolution and the "actors." Ellet, *Women of the American Revolution*, 1:viii–xii.

63. Gannett, *Addr[e]ss Delivered with Applause*, 12–13.

64. Gannett, *Diary*, 11.

65. Ibid., 14.

66. Vinton, *Female Review*, xxxii. See the report on Benjamin Gannett's pension request in "Revolutionary Reminiscences," *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 16 February 1837, 101–2.

Chapter 5. "To Proceed with Spirit"

1. The many excellent resources for the study of early American newspapers include: Thomas, *History of Printing in America*; Brigham, *Journals and Journeymen*; Mott, *American Journalism*; Copeland, *Colonial American Newspapers*; and Clark, *Public Prints*.

2. Clementina Rind announced in the 14 April 1774 edition of the *Virginia Gazette* that she had ordered an "elegant" set of type from London. The day before, she had signed a mortgage agreement with John Blair, Robert Miller, James Southall, and John Tazewell, in which she mortgaged the goods that she had purchased from the estate of her husband, William Rind, who died in debt in November. Although nothing in

the document indicates that she intended to use the money they loaned her for the purchase of type, we can reasonably assume this was the case, given the proximity of dates, the great expense, and her need for cash to order type. The four men holding her mortgage ranged across the political spectrum, which speaks to her integrity and the respect she commanded in the community. Blair was a jurist who served in the House of Burgesses and helped draft the nonimportation agreements. Tazewell was an attorney and served as one of the directors of the public hospital for the mentally ill (as did John Blair). Southall owned a tavern and substantial property. Miller served as Treasurer of the College of William and Mary and was a merchant and revenue officer; he left Williamsburg in 1775 as the political climate heated.

Rind's deed is held in the collections of the Virginia Historical Society. I am indebted to Frances S. Pollard, Chief Librarian, for sending me a copy of this document. For Rind's announcement regarding her order for new printing equipment, see *Virginia Gazette*, (Clementina Rind), 14 April 1774, 3.

3. Britain won the Seven Years' War with France, but at great cost. Douglas R. Egerton reports: "Prime Minister William Pitt amassed a staggering debt of £122,603,336. The annual interest alone amounted to more than half of Britain's typical peacetime budget." Egerton, *Death or Liberty*, 43. To pay down this debt, Parliament passed the Stamp Act. Frank Luther Mott explains that the Stamp Act "provided that all legal documents, official papers, books, and newspapers should be printed on stamped paper which carried a special tax. For newspapers, this tax amounted to a half-penny for each copy of a two-page paper and one penny for four pages, and in addition there was a tax of two shillings on each advertisement. This was a high tax; on some papers it amounted to fully fifty per cent." The Stamp Act was repealed in 1766, and Mott notes that "no paper in any of the colonies which were later to form part of the United States appeared over the stamp of the hated Act." Mott, *American Journalism*, 71, 74. However, the Townsend Acts succeeded the Stamp Act in taxing paper and other goods.

4. The most comprehensive sources of information about female printers and publishers are Oldham, "Early Women Printers of America," and Hudak, *Early American Women Printers and Publishers*. In addition to publishing the *Virginia Gazette*, William Rind also published the *Virginia Almanack*.

5. Although this chapter focuses on Clementina Rind's work as a newspaper editor, the printing press stayed busy under her direction. She inherited the contract for public printing from her husband and then won it in her own right, which meant that she published documents for the House of Burgesses as well as official proclamations and speeches of Governor Dunmore. Her other publications include *A Confession of Faith* (1774), by Christopher Clark. Although she did not live to see the printing of *The Virginia Almanack for the Year of Our Lord 1775*, which came out under John Pinkney's name later in 1774, printed on behalf of her children, Clementina probably did preliminary work on that volume.

6. Richard Walsh notes that women commonly took over family businesses when

the husband was absent due to military or political duties. Walsh, *Charleston's Sons of Liberty*, 17.

7. Brigham, *Journals and Journeymen*, 71–79.

8. Oldham, "Early Women Printers of America," 13. Benjamin Franklin mentions this apprenticeship in his *Autobiography*, relating that about ten years after leaving Boston, he visited James in Newport, who "was fast declining in his Health, and requested of me that in case of his Death which he apprehended not far distant, I would take home his Son, then but 10 Years of Age, and bring him up to the Printing Business." Franklin paid for James Jr.'s schooling, trained him, and bought him new type, explaining: "Thus it was that I made my Brother ample Amends for the Service I had depriv'd him of by leaving him so early." Franklin, *Autobiography and Other Writings*, 103.

9. Franklin, *Autobiography and Other Writings*, 100.

10. Ibid., 100–101.

11. Anne Catharine Green, who ran a print shop in Annapolis from 1767 to 1775, also enjoyed a long period of success. As discussed later, she was the widow of Jonas Green, William Rind's former partner.

12. Augustina Parsons, an apparent exception to this rule of familial connection, "established the *Alabama Watchman* at Cahawba in 1820. She followed no previous publisher, and no other printer named Parsons during that period. She published the paper over the imprint of A. Parsons." Brigham, *Journals and Journeymen*, 79.

13. Okker, *Our Sister Editors,* 6.

14. Weyler, "Literary Labors and Intellectual Prostitution," 96–131.

15. For an interview with Abigail Schumann, who has portrayed Clementina Rind in Colonial Williamsburg, see Schumann, "Interview," in the *Colonial Williamsburg Journal*, Spring 2004, at http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/spring04/transcript.html. The same issue also features an essay by Donna Dene Woodward on women in the trades, which notes that women were sometimes apprenticed to trades, but that legal documents such as apprenticeship contracts are rare. Other evidence of female apprentices can be found in engravings, advertisements, and notices. See Woodward, "With All the Grace," at http://www.history.org/Foundation/journal/Spring04/women.cfm.

16. For an overview of Anne Catharine Green's career, see Hudak, *Early American Women Printers*, 265–99.

17. Thomas, *History of Printing in America*, 556n. Thomas's book first appeared in 1810. McCorison's edition is based on the revised and expanded second edition, which appeared in 1874.

18. Weir, "Role of the Newspaper Press," especially 103–11. Isaiah Thomas's discussion of Williamsburg's printers concurs with this assessment; see Thomas, 366.

19. Copeland, *Colonial American Newspapers*, 300. For a clear explanation of the various iterations of the *Virginia Gazette*, see Kobre, *Development of the Colonial Newspaper*, 178–79.

20. *The Printer in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg*, 10.

21. For information about the household possessions of Clementina and William Rind, see "Inventory of the Estate of William Rind" and a mortgage that Clementina signed in April 1774.

See also MSS 2R4715a1, from the collections of the Virginia Historical Society, for "A Bill of Sale from Mrs. Rind to Blair and Others." C. Rind, "A Bill of Sale." By 1775, Williamsburg had seven cabinetmakers. Although we know the china would have been imported via the East India trade, the furniture may have been made locally out of imported wood. See Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, "Cabinetmaker," accessed 6 December 2011, http://www.history.org/almanack/life/trades/tradecab.cfm.

For more information about the presence of china in early America, see Dulles, *Old China Trade*; Furber, "Beginnings of American Trade"; Doerflinger, *Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise*; and P. Smith, *Empress of China*.

22. One son, also named William Rind, went on to become a printer. Another son, James Rind, worked as a lawyer in Richmond, Virginia. A daughter, Maria Rind, married Judge John Coalter. Tyler, *The Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography*, 2:255–56.

23. Oldham speculates that John Pinkney was probably the son of one of William Rind's sisters, either Margaret or Ann, both of whom married, in succession, Jonathan Pinkney; see Oldham, "Early Women Printers in America," 86, 92.

24. "Inventory of the Estate of William Rind," 53–55.

25. Clark asserts: "Delivery to in-town subscribers was one place that a printer could save on expenses if he published the paper himself, for it was apparently standard practice for his own young apprentice, son, or daughter to do the job." Clark, *Public Prints*, 203; Hudak, *Early American Women Printers*, 310.

26. Oldham, "Early Women Printers in America," 88.

27. *Virginia Gazette*, (Purdie and Dixon), 26 August 1773, 2.

28. *Virginia Gazette*, (Clementina Rind), 2 September 1773, 3.

29. Ibid., 25 August 1773, 1. This letter first appeared in the 18 August 1773 issue. However, because the extant copy of that issue is damaged, I quote from that same letter reprinted in the 25 August edition.

30. Clark, *Public Prints*, 200.

31. Zenger is quoted in Thomas, *History of Printing in America*, 2:103.

32. *Virginia Gazette*, (Purdie and Dixon), 25 November 1773, 3.

33. Richard Bland's pamphlet appeared without a title page, and that extended passage acts as a subtitle for Bland, *To the Clergy of Virginia*.

34. *Virginia Gazette*, (Clementina Rind), 9 December 1773, 1.

35. In general, Purdie and Dixon and the Rinds were mutually respectful. Eighteenth-century printers in larger cities such as Boston commonly collaborated with one another, hiring their presses out as needed, and Purdie and Dixon may have had a similar arrangement with the Rinds in small-town Williamsburg. Only once did Purdie and Dixon run a piece critical of Clementina Rind, as discussed below. The obituaries Purdie and Dixon ran for each of the Rinds were full of praise for their subjects.

36. *Virginia Gazette*, (Clementina Rind), 25 November 1773, 4.

37. "To Mr. Purdie" appeared in *Virginia Gazette*, (Purdie and Dixon), 23 December 1773, 1. David A. Copeland places this dispute in the larger context of debates over the impartiality of the press. See Copeland, "Impartiality, Objectivity, and the Press, 1729," 26–42.

38. *Virginia Gazette*, (Clementina Rind), 30 December 1773, 3.

39. "Letter to Subscribers" appeared in *Virginia Gazette*, (Clementina Rind), 25 August 1773, 1.

40. *Virginia Gazette*, (Clementina Rind), 10 March 1774.

41. Clark, *Public Printers*, 210 and 209–10.

42. The "Canadian" was Peter Hardy, and the "Hibernian" was Elkanah Deane. Dean had employed Hardy, but he was outraged when Hardy opened his own coach-making business and attacked his training. *Virginia Gazette,* (Clementina Rind), 25 November 1773, 4.

43. Weir notes: "Only in Charleston, which was the busiest seaport south of Philadelphia, could ads generate a substantial amount of revenue. There in the 1760s the *South-Carolina Gazette*, for example, averaged eighty-eight items per issue." By comparison, Weir estimates: "the *Maryland Gazette* carried approximately 42 advertisements per issue between 1763 and 1775; the *Virginia Gazette* (Royle, Purdie and Dixon, Dixon and Hunter), 55; the *Virginia Gazette* (Rind and, later, Pinkney) 42 (computed on an adjusted basis, 1766–75); and the *Georgia Gazette*, 32." North Carolina newspapers, by comparison, averaged seven advertisements per issue. Weir, "Role of the Newspaper Press," 111.

44. Todd Andrlik has collated circulation statistics from all the major scholarly studies of colonial newspapers on the online newspaper archive Rag Linen. Some urban papers in Boston and New York had as many as 1,000 to 4,000 subscribers during the Revolutionary era. Williamsburg, with its much smaller and more rural population, likely had a circulation closer to 600 or fewer. *Rag Linen*, "Historical Circulations," accessed 25 November 2011, http://raglinen.com/education/circulations/.

45. *Virginia Gazette*, (William Rind), 6 February 1772, 4.

46. See, for example, the following notice: "Committed to Prince William gaol a Negro man who calls himself Reubin Dye; he is in a sailor's dress, and is about 30 years of age, says he was born in Martinico, and is a free man. If he has any owner, it is desired he will pay charges, and take him away." Immediately following this ad was one for a horse: "Taken up, in Culpeper, a black mare, about ten years of age." *Virginia Gazette*, (Clementina Rind), 14 October 1773, 3.

47. *Virginia Gazette*, (Clementina Rind), 30 September 1773, 3.

48. Ibid., 7 April 1774, 3.

49. *Virginia Gazette*, (William Rind), 6 February 1772, 3. Vobe was a successful businesswoman. Cynthia Kierner reports that she kept a tavern for 30 years and even supplied the state militia. Kierner, *Beyond the Household*, 20. For an excellent discussion

of the kinds of paid labor in which white southern women engaged in the eighteenth century, see Kierner, *Beyond the Household*, 17–27.

50. *Virginia Gazette*, (Clementina Rind), 9 December 1773, 2.

51. Ibid., 7 October 1773, 2 ("Miss Peggy Ritchie"); 17 March 1774, 1 ("Acrostic"); and 19 February 1774, 2 ("On Music").

52. "The Laughing Philosopher" appeared in *Virginia Gazette*, (Clementina Rind), 7 October 1773, 2. This poem also appears unattributed as "The Laughing Philosopher," *New Foundling Hospital for Wit*, 214–15.

53. *Virginia Gazette*, (Clementina Rind), 19 May 1774, 2.

54. "From the *New York Gazetteer*. To the Printer" appeared in *Virginia Gazette*, (Clementina Rind), 10 February 1774, 2.

55. "A Country Justice" appeared in *Virginia Gazette*, (Clementina Rind), 30 December 1773, 1.

56. On wine, see *Virginia Gazette*, (Clementina Rind), 16 September 1773, 1. On paper money, see the *Virginia Gazette* for both 16 September 1773 and 30 September 1773; the latter was signed by Robert C. Nichols, a local lawyer. On the curriculum, see *Virginia Gazette*, (Clementina Rind), 19 May 1774, 1–2.

57. "Written by a Lady, on Receiving a Handsome Set of Tea China" appeared in *Virginia Gazette*, (Clementina Rind), 16 June 1774, 1.

58. Both letters appeared in *Virginia Gazette*, (Clementina Rind), 15 September 1774, 1.

59. Kierner, *Beyond the Household*, 79.

60. "To Mrs. Rind" appeared in *Virginia Gazette,* (Clementina Rind), 4 August 1774, 1.

61. *Virginia Gazette*, (Clementina Rind), 14 April 1774, 3.

62. This seal appears in Elizabeth Carroll Reilly's *A Dictionary of Colonial American Printers' Ornaments and Illustrations*; see Reilly, *Dictionary*, 213, numbers 956 and 957.

63. Reilly's *Dictionary* includes several variants of the colonial Virginia seal, but it does not include Clementina Rind's new device.

64. The difference between the direct audience and the indirect audience is discussed in Weir, "Role of the Newspaper Press," 131–37. Weir sees limitations in the scope of the direct audience, due to lower levels of literacy in the South, which had a rural population more widely dispersed than in the North. While I concede these points, the content of the advertisements of the Rinds' version of the *Virginia Gazette* suggests that the indirect audience comprised a significant component of the readership.

65. Thomas, *History of Printing in America*, is quoted in Brigham, *Journals and Journeymen*, 20. Paul Starr estimates that 600 was the average newspaper circulation in 1775, although papers in Boston and Philadelphia had much larger subscriber bases from which to draw. Starr, *Creation of the Media*, 68.

66. Clark, *Public Prints*, 250.

67. In *Learning to Read and Write in Colonial America*, Monaghan assesses numerous studies of signature literacy. While there are problems associated with using signatures alone to identify literacy, signatures do provide one useful quantitative marker for cross-

colonial comparisons. Signature literacy for white women in Virginia hovered just above 40 percent in 1760, rising to around 55 percent between 1770 and 1780 and to 80 percent in 1790. By comparison, white urban New England female signers had literacy rates of close to 70 percent in 1760 and 60 percent in 1790, with even higher rates among Vermont and Connecticut deed signers (385, Graph 2). Signature literacy for white Virginia men from 1750 to 1800 stayed constant between 85 and 90 percent, while scholars widely agree that "by the time of the American Revolution the literacy of white men in New England had reached nearly universal levels." Monaghan, *Learning to Read and Write*, 3.

68. Kerrison, *Claiming the Pen*, 186.

69. Kerrison explains: "While southern women's participation in the Anglo-American world of print shows how actively they participated in the life of the mind, this book also argues that the gender hierarchy constructed in the context of a slave society explains why they lagged a full century behind English female authors, whose works appeared in print from the last quarter of the seventeenth century and only increased in volume during the eighteenth." Kerrison, *Claiming the Pen*, 5–6.

70. *Virginia Gazette*, (Clementina Rind), 14 July 1774, 3.

71. Ibid., 17 February 1774, 4.

72. Ibid., 23 June 1774, 4.

73. Luckombe, *History and Art of Printing*, 377.

74. *Virginia Gazette*, (Clementina Rind), 27 January 1774, 3.

75. "A Customer" appeared in *Virginia Gazette*, (Clementina Rind), 14 April 1774.

76. *Virginia Gazette*, (Clementina Rind), 11 August 1774, 3.

77. Hume, *Obituaries in American Culture*, 22–28, 35–36.

78. Brigham, *Journals and Journeymen*, 80.

79. For an excellent defense of obituary writing as creative expression, see Karen L. Kilcup's discussion of Susan Gilbert Dickinson's obituary for Emily Dickinson in Kilcup, "Writing in the Real World," 193–210.

80. *Virginia Gazette*, (Purdie and Dixon), 29 September 1774, 3.

81. Under the "Williamsburg" news section, Pinkney writes, "On Sunday last died, Mrs. CLEMENTINA RIND. It ill beseems the printer, he apprehends, as being a relation, to pretend to characterize her. . . . It was his original intention to address the public at large in this week's paper; but for want of time, and many difficulties intervening, he found it extremely arduous, and therefore declined it till next week, or to some future period." *Virginia Gazette*, (Pinkney) 29 September 1774, 3.

82. "On the Death of Mrs. Rind" appeared in *Virginia Gazette*, (Pinkney), 20 October 1774, 1.

83. "On the Death of Mrs. Rind" appeared in *Virginia Gazette*, (Pinkney), 6 October 1774, 3.

84. Rind's second elegist similarly praised her as "mistress, mother, wife, and bosom friend." In part, this phrasing is conventional for memorial verse, and the second elegist had almost certainly read the first elegy for Rind. However, this emphasis on the varied

roles that she filled may also indicate the lenses through which her friends viewed her actions.

85. "On the Death of Mrs. Rind" appeared in *Virginia Gazette*, (Pinkney), 20 October 1774, 1.

86. *Virginia Gazette*, (Pinkney), 8 December 1774, 1.

87. Hudak, *Early American Women Printers*, 310.

88. There are notable exceptions: female millworkers wrote and edited the *Lowell Offering*, and Lydia Sigourney was the daughter of a gardener and handyman, but they are exceptions, rather than the rule.

Chapter 6. When Barbers Wrote Books

1. Howland, *Address*, 10.

2. For a discussion of the origins of the Providence mechanic society, see Kornblith, "Cementing the Mechanic Interest."

3. Brutus, *To the Free and Loyal Inhabitants*. In urban areas, mechanics did indeed comprise a majority of residents. Alfred F. Young reports: "On the eve of the Revolution most mechanics lived in the major cities. . . . In a country with 2 million whites and 500,000 slaves, about 100,000 people lived in the large cities, where from one-half to two-thirds of the adult males were in the mechanic class." Young, "Revolutionary Mechanics," 2.

4. Mechanics across the colonies supported nonimportation policies and urged their fellow citizens to buy and promote American-made goods, setting up a dispute with merchants that coalesced around 1770. For more on the differing economic interests of mechanics and merchants, see chapter 3, "The Marketplace" in Olton, *Artisans for Independence*, 19–32.

5. For information about the relationship between artisans and the Democratic-Republican Society, see chapter 5 in Rock, *Artisans of the New Republic*.

6. See, for example, J. Brooks, "Early American Public Sphere."

7. For example, the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers required residency of at least three months and nomination by an officer or member of the Committee of Correspondence, followed by balloting by members of the Association. Prospective members had to be at least twenty-one. If journeymen, they were required either to have served an apprenticeship in Providence or to have three recommendation letters from "known Masters of the same Craft in the Town where he served his Time." *Charter, Constitution and Bye-laws, of the Providence Association*, 25. The Constitution mandated that new members pay dues of "one shilling and six pence," but it allowed that sum to be increased at any of the annual meetings. Ibid., 16. By contrast, the Newport group did not require a nomination; prospective members could apply directly to the Committee of Correspondence. *Charter, Constitution and Bye-laws of the Newport Association*, 20.

Enslaved artisans did not participate in mechanic societies and thus are beyond the scope of this study. It is important to note, however, when considering the disparate levels of activity between northern and southern artisans in the postwar period, that slaves comprised a large number of skilled workers in the South. Using the 1784 census, James Sidbury calculates that in Richmond, Virginia, "41 percent of free white men (123 of 302) had skills"; the census listed the slaves owned by skilled workers but did not list slave occupations. Using this data, however, Sidbury estimates that "slaves comprised about 25 percent of Richmond's skilled labor force." Sidbury, "Slave Artisans," 50. For more on slave artisans, see Gillespie, "Planters in the Making," 40–44.

8. David Roediger notes that "the artisan population was particularly unfree, dependent and subjected to treatment often compared with that meted out to Black slaves. According to Bernard Bailyn's sample of registered white migration to the colonies on the 'eve of the Revolution,' 'four-fifths of the [arriving] artisans in the most highly skilled crafts' came under indenture." Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness*, 29. Philip Foner asserts: "Probably half the immigrants to Colonial America were indentured servants. By 1770 a quarter of a million had entered America, of whom more than a hundred thousand were victims of kidnapping or prisoners sentenced to service." He adds: "In Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia at the time of the Revolution probably three out of four persons were or had been indentured servants." Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 18–19.

9. Olton, *Artisans for Independence*, 9.

10. Olton discusses fledgling artisan guilds in eighteenth-century Philadelphia, but he notes that they were voluntary, short lived, and lacked legal standing, which enabled artisans to defy guild standards with impunity. Olton, *Artisans for Independence*, 15–18. Using eighteenth-century strikes as his metric, Selig Perlman argues that, however short lived, these trade-specific groups were the origin point for unions because they separated the interests of journeymen, who focused on wages and working conditions, from masters. Perlman, *History of Trade Unionism*, 4–9. Not until the 1820s do long-term, stable unions dedicated to a single craft emerge, although it was not until the 1830s that such groups developed into national organizations. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 101–15.

11. *Charter, Constitution and Bye-laws, of the Providence Association*, 27.

12. During the Revolutionary era, politically active mechanics affiliated most often under the appellation "Sons of Liberty." These groups were by no means exclusively comprised of artisans—other classes joined as well—but these definitely were urban groups. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 34–37. Foner claims: "These radical societies not only marked the first effective intercolonial union, but helped to forge working class solidarity." Ibid., 36. Richard Walsh argues that one reason that southern mechanic societies, especially that of Charleston, did not thrive was because land was cheap in the post-Revolutionary era, and many mechanics who were politically active during the Revolution moved into the planter class. Commenting on the fact that so

many artisans bought land, Walsh writes: "Among the successful mechanics the practice was so commonplace that one is led to believe this is the cause of the disappearance of so articulate a group in ante-bellum South Carolina, which was virtually without manufacturing by the Civil War. The Revolutionary mechanics were absorbed into the agrarian society." Walsh, *Charleston's Sons of Liberty*, 18. Michele K. Gillespie makes a similar claim about artisans in Georgia and argues: "The marginal place of free labor in this slaveholding world discouraged class consciousness and class formation." Gillespie, "Planters in the Making," 34.

13. *Charter and Bye-Laws of the General Society*, 16–17. See also, for example, *Report of the Select Committee of the Providence Association*.

14. See, for example, Buckingham, *Address*, 17.

15. Kulikoff, "Progress of Inequality," 376.

16. Ibid., 385.

17. Ibid., 385–86.

18. Howland, *Lecture*, 14.

19. For a detailed description of Philadelphia's 1788 celebration of the Constitution, see Hopkinson, *Account of the Grand Federal Procession*.

20. Hopkinson, *Account of the Grand Federal Procession,* 6.

21. Ibid., 10.

22. S. Davis, *Parades and Power*, 33. For an excellent overview of the importance of parades and other forms of celebration in early America, see Waldstreicher, *In the Midst*.

23. Indeed, anxiety over organized public activities by working people would continue to concern the elite, particularly in the form of strikes and strike parades in the antebellum era. S. Davis, *Parades and Power*, 115.

24. Kulikoff, "Progress of Inequality," 391–92.

25. Weyler, *Intricate Relations*, 115–16.

26. Cooper, *Political Arithmetic*, 15.

27. Rediker, *Between the Devil*, 14.

28. Young, "Revolutionary Mechanics," 8.

29. Providence held annual meetings, while the Massachusetts group held triennial meetings. Aside from an exchange of bylaws and mutual support, members of one group would occasionally attend the meetings of others. Stone notes that Howland had a friendly relationship with Paul Revere and attended one of the triennial meetings of the Massachusetts group, which the governor of the state also attended. Stone, *Life and Recollections*, 196.

30. The Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association was founded in 1795. The Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers records were preserved by the happy circumstance of their president, John Howland, also serving as the president of the local historical society, an event that in itself illustrates the growing civic power of the mechanic.

31. Olton, *Artisans for Independence*, 3n10.

32. Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, 67–68. Stone reports that in 1788, the Revolutionary-era John Howland married Mary Carlile, who was the great granddaughter of James Franklin, Benjamin's elder brother, further illustrating the amazing web of connections that the Franklin family had among American artisans.

33. Stone, *Life and Recollections*, 16. Roger Chartier notes that intensive reading, or "[r]epeated reading of the same texts was the norm for American Protestants." Chartier, "Practical Impact of Writing," 168.

34. Stone, *Life and Recollections*, 21–22.

35. Ibid., 27.

36. Ibid., 24.

37. The Reverend James Manning was the first President of Brown University, serving from the university's inception in 1765 until his death in 1791. Howland wrote a biographical sketch of Manning in 1815, which he gave to the Rhode Island Historical Society.

38. Stone, *Life and Recollections*, 106.

39. Ibid., 120–25.

40. Buckingham, *Personal Memoirs*, 3–5.

41. Ibid., 8–9.

42. Ibid., 12.

43. Ibid., 18.

44. Ibid., 16.

45. Ibid., 17.

46. Ibid., 15–26. Taking a break from the printing business, Buckingham worked one summer as a prompter for a troop of comedians. Ibid., 51–52.

47. Buckingham, *Personal Memoirs*, 28.

48. Buckingham, *Specimens of Newspaper Literature*, 2:3–5.

49. Ibid., 5.

50. Ibid., 9.

51. Ibid., 9, 13.

52. Pasley, *"Tyranny of Printers,"* 233.

53. Ibid., 233.

54. Botein, "Printers and the American Revolution," 17. Botein points out that while Benjamin Franklin might seem to be the exception to this rule, his early retirement from the printing business was prompted by "the very ambitions it [his labor as a printer] stimulated. . . . Only after ceasing to practice his craft could Franklin become a scientist and a statesman." Botein, "Printers and the American Revolution," 18–19.

55. Young, "Revolutionary Mechanics," 3.

56. Pasley, *"Tyranny of Printers,"* 45.

57. Buckingham, *Personal Memoirs*, 31–32.

58. John Howland, whose 1789, 1810, and 1818 lectures to the Providence Association were published, was also presented with a sterling silver pitcher engraved: "Presented

as a tribute of respect . . . commemorative of his Oration, delivered at their anniversary, April 13, 1818." Stone, *Life and Recollections*, 185. By the time of the 1818 lecture, Howland had become president of the mechanic organization and held a number of important civic posts. While publication of his oration honored him, he was already a prominent public figure. It must have seemed appropriate to the association to gift him with a mechanic-created memento that could be cherished privately and yet also be displayed in his home or shop.

59. John Fairbanks's 1812 address to the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association particularly emphasizes King Solomon, the building of the Temple, and Masonic symbols, leading me to speculate that he was probably a Mason. See Fairbanks, *Address*.

60. Buckingham, *Address*, 6.

61. Ibid., unnumbered front matter.

62. James Ellison, "Ode," in Buckingham, *Address*, 21.

63. George Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, wrote disparagingly about North America's Native American and animal inhabitants in volume 5 of his *Histoire Naturelle* (1766), prompting an incensed response from Thomas Jefferson in *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1784). Abbé Raynal's *Histoire Philosophique et Politique des Deux Indes* (1770), on the other hand, theorized that Europeans, too, had degenerated in the New World.

64. Howland, *Address*, 9–10.

65. Den Ouden, *Beyond Conquest*, 10–11.

66. For a discussion of Ellison's play and its debt to Susannah Rowson's *Slaves in Algiers*, see Montgomery, "White Captives, African Slaves."

67. J. Ellison, "Ode", 21.

68. Howland, *Address*, 8.

69. Howland notes the thirty-minute time limit in a footnote to his 1799 work, *A Lecture*; Howland, *Lecture*, 13.

70. Howland, *Lecture*, 10, 13. For his argument about restrictions on the incorporation of mechanic societies, see 11.

71. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

72. As demonstration of its interest in national economic policy, the Providence association sent three memorials to Congress in support of domestic manufacturers; according to Stone, John Howland authored all three. Stone, *Life and Recollections,* 173.

73. *Charter, Constitution and Bye-laws of the Newport Association*, 9.

74. *Charter, Constitution and Bye-laws, of the Providence Association*, vii–viii.

75. *The Charter, Constitution and Bye-laws of the Newport Association*, v.

76. Howland, *Address*, 11, 10.

77. Russell, *Major Russell's Address*, 25.

78. *Charter, Constitution and Bye-laws, of the Providence Association*, 27.

79. Howland, *Lecture*, 13.

80. Stone, *Life and Recollections*, 138–39.

81. Ibid., 139.

82. Ibid., 146.

83. Individual towns approved this bill first, because they were responsible for overseeing local school systems. The general assembly repealed the law two years later, but by that time schools were firmly established in Providence and other towns. For the next several decades, the sources of funding for the public schools would be subject to debate, specifically the ability of towns to tax their citizens to pay for the school systems. Stone, *Life and Recollections*, 141–55. For more information about Howland's role in developing free public education in Rhode Island, see Russo, "John Howland."

84. Howland, quoted in Stone, *Life and Recollections*, 140.

85. Osgood, quoted in Stone, *Life and Recollections*, 140n.

86. Stone, *Life and Recollections*, 148.

87. Howland, *Address*, 6.

88. Ibid., 12–13.

Conclusion. Uncovering Other Outsider Authors

1. Don Yoder has produced a fantastic study of German-language broadsides in *The Pennsylvania German Broadside*. Yoder argues: "It is my personal opinion that British and American folklorists in particular have skewed the definition of the broadside by overemphasizing song and ballad broadsheets as 'street literature.' The range of the broadside properly embraces more than popular literature hawked on the streets. The Pennsylvania Dutch certificates of birth, baptism, confirmation, and marriage, and elegies and spiritual testaments, while not street literature, are legitimate broadsides that relate the individual to community culture. One can also cite as broadsides legal forms, in German and English, for indentures, appointments of estate administration, and certifications of naturalization. All of these were functions in the historic Pennsylvania Dutch culture of the past." See Yoder, *Pennsylvania German Broadside*, 2.

Works Cited

Adams, John Quincy. *An Oration, Delivered at Plymouth, December 22, 1802. At the Anniversary Commemoration of the First Landing of Our Ancestors, at That Place*. Boston: Russell and Cutler, 1802.

Affecting History of the Dreadful Distresses of Frederic Manheim's Family. To Which Are Added, the Sufferings of John Corbly's Family. An Encounter Between a White Man and Two Savages. Extraordinary Bravery of a Woman. Adventures of Capt. Isaac Stewart. Deposition of Massey Herbeson. Adventures and Sufferings of Peter Wilkinson. Remarkable Adventures of Jackson Johonnot. Account of the Destruction of the Settlements at Wyoming. Exeter: Ranlet, 1793.

An Affecting Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Mary Smith. Providence: L. Scott, 1815.

"African Anecdotes." *The Knickerbocker; or New York Monthly Magazine* 4.2 (1834): 85–95.

Agnew, Jean-Christophe. *Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550–1750*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Amory, Hugh. "A Note on Statistics." *A History of the Book in America. Volume One. The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*. Ed. Hugh Amory and David D. Hall. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000. 504–18.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. ed. New York: Verso, 1991.

Andrews, William L. *To Tell a Free Story: The First Century of Afro-American Autobiography, 1760–1865*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986.

Apess, William. *A Son of the Forest. On Our Own Ground: The Complete Writings of William Apess, A Pequot*. Ed. Barry O'Connell. 1831. Reprint, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992.

Appiah, Anthony. "Identity, Authenticity, Survival: Multicultural Societies and Social Reproduction." *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*. Ed. Amy Gutman et al. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994. 149–63.

Arch, Stephen Carl. *After Franklin: The Emergence of Autobiography in Post-Revolutionary America, 1780–1830*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2001.

Balkun, Mary. "Phillis Wheatley's Construction of Otherness and the Rhetoric of Performed Ideology." *African American Review* 36.1 (2002): 121–35.

Baumgarten, Linda. *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America*. New Haven: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, in association with Yale University Press, 2002.

Belcher, Joseph. *George Whitefield: A Biography*. New York: American Tract Society, 1857.

Bennett, Paula. "Phillis Wheatley's Vocation and the Paradox of the 'Afric Muse.'" *PMLA* 113.1 (1998): 64–76.

———. *Poets in the Public Sphere: The Emancipatory Project of American Women's Poetry, 1800–1900*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Bercovitch, Sacvan. *The American Jeremiad*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978.

———. *The Rites of Assent: Transformations in the Symbolic Construction of America*. New York: Routledge, 1993.

Berlin, Ira. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998.

Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture.* London: Routledge, 1994.

Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack, for the Year of Our Redemption, 1782. Boston: Printed by E. Russell, 1781.

Bland, Richard. *To the Clergy of Virginia*. Williamsburg, Virginia: Clementina Rind, 1773.

Bloch, Ruth H. "The Gendered Meanings of Virtue in Revolutionary America." *Gender and Morality in Anglo-American Culture, 1650–1800*. 1987. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. 136–53.

Bolster, W. Jeffrey. *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Bosco, Ronald A. "Lectures at the Pillory: The Early American Execution Sermon." *American Quarterly* 30.2 (1978): 156–76.

Botein, Stephen. "Printers and the American Revolution." *The Press and the American Revolution*. Ed. Bernard Bailyn and John B. Hench. Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1980. 11–57.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Trans. Richard Nice. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984.

———. *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.

Bouwman, Heather. "Samson Occom and the Sermonic Tradition." *Early Native Literacies in New England: A Documentary and Critical Anthology*. Ed. Kristina Bross and Hilary E. Wyss. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008. 63–71.

Bradford, William. *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620–1647*. New York: Modern Library, 1981.

Brandon, Stephen. "Sacred Fires and Sovereign Rhetorics: Cherokee Literacy, Nationalism, and the Emergence of Professional Authorship in America." PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 2003.

Breen, T. H. "Making History: The Force of Public Opinion and the Last Years of Slav-

ery in Revolutionary Massachusetts." *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America*. Ed. Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel, and Fredrika J. Teute. Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1997. 67–95.

———. "The Meaning of 'Likeness': Portrait-Painting in an Eighteenth-Century Consumer Society." *The Portrait in Eighteenth-Century America*. Ed. Ellen G. Miles. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1993. 37–60.

Brigham, Clarence S. Brigham. *Journals and Journeymen: A Contribution to the History of Early American Newspapers*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950.

Brodhead, Richard H. *Cultures of Letters: Scenes of Reading and Writing in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Brooks, Joanna. *American Lazarus: Religion and the Rise of African-American and Native American Literatures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

———. "The Early American Public Sphere and the Emergence of a Black Print Counterpublic." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 62.1 (2005): 67–92.

———. "Our Phillis, Ourselves." *American Literature* 82.1 (2010): 1–28.

———. "This Indian World: An Introduction to the Writings of Samson Occom." *The Collected Writings of Samson Occom, Mohegan: Leadership and Literature in Eighteenth-Century Native America*. Ed. Joanna Brooks. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. 3–39.

Brooks, Lisa. *The Common Pot: The Recovery of Native Space in the Northeast*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.

Bross, Kristina. *Dry Bones and Indian Sermons: Praying Indians in Colonial America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Brown, Candy Gunther. *The Word in the World: Evangelical Writing, Publishing, and Reading in America, 1789–1880*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Brown, Richard D. *Knowledge is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700–1865*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Brutus. *To the Free and Loyal Inhabitants of the City and Colony of New-York*. [New York: n.p., 1774].

Buckingham, Joseph Tinker. *Address Delivered Before the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, at the Public Celebration of Their Third Triennial Festival, December 21, 1815*. Boston: n.p., 1816.

———. *Personal Memoirs and Recollections of Editorial Life*. Vol. 1. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1852.

———. *Specimens of Newspaper Literature: With Personal Memoirs, Anecdotes, and Reminiscences*. Vol. 2. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1850.

Bumgardner, Georgia B. Introduction. *American Broadsides*. Selected and Introduced by Georgia B. Bumgardner. Barre, Mass.: Imprint Society, 1971.

Burgett, Bruce. *Sentimental Bodies: Sex, Gender, and Citizenship in the Early Republic*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Burnham, Michelle. *Captivity and Sentiment: Cultural Exchange in American Literature, 1682–1861*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1997.

Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. Rev. ed. New York: Routledge, 1999.

Cameron, Sharon. *Choosing Not Choosing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Campbell, Karlyn Kohrs. "Gender and Genre: Loci of Invention and Contradiction in the Earliest Speeches by U.S. Women." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 91 (1995): 479–95.

Captivity and Sufferings of Mrs. Mason, with an Account of the Massacre of Her Youngest Child. [St. Augustine, Fla.: n.p., 1836?].

Carey, Matthew. "Female Heroism." *The American Museum*. March 1792. 2:110.

Carretta, Vincent. *Genius in Bondage: Literature of the Early Black Atlantic*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001.

———. Introduction. *Phillis Wheatley: Complete Writings*. Ed. Vincent Carretta. New York: Penguin, 2001.

———. *Phillis Wheatley: Biography of a Genius in Bondage*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011.

Carretta, Vincent, ed. *Unchained Voices: An Anthology of Black Authors in the English-Speaking World of the Eighteenth Century*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1996.

Castiglia, Christopher. *Bound and Determined: Captivity, Culture-Crossing, and White Womanhood from Mary Rowlandson to Patty Hearst*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Cavitch, Max. *American Elegy: The Poetry of Mourning from the Puritans to Whitman*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.

Chamberlain, Ava. "The Execution of Moses Paul: A Story of Crime and Contact in Eighteenth-Century Connecticut." *New England Quarterly* 77.3 (2004): 414–50.

The Charter and Bye-Laws of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen of the City of New York. New York: Harrisson, 1792.

The Charter, Constitution and Bye-laws of the Newport Association of Mechanics and Manufactures. Newport: Barber, 1792.

The Charter, Constitution and Bye-laws, of the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers. Providence: Bennett Wheeler, 1789.

Chartier, Roger. "The Practical Impact of Writing." *The Book History Reader*. Ed. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery. 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 2006. 157–81.

Chiles, Katy L. "Becoming Colored in Occom and Wheatley's Early America." *PMLA* 123.5 (2008): 1398–1417.

Clark, Charles E. *The Public Prints: The Newspaper in Anglo-American Culture, 1666–1740*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Cohen, Daniel A. *Pillars of Salt, Monuments of Grace: New England Crime Literature and the Origins of American Popular Culture, 1674–1860*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. "Cabinetmaker." Accessed 6 December 2011. http://www.history.org/almanack/life/trades/tradecab.cfm.

The Compact Oxford English Dictionary. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Cooper, Thomas. *Political Arithmetic*. Philadelphia: n.p., 1798.

Copeland, David A. *Colonial American Newspapers: Character and Content*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1997.

———. "Impartiality, Objectivity, and the Press, 1729." *Debating the Issues in Colonial Newspapers: Primary Documents on Events of the Period*. Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 2000. 26–42.

Costanzo, Angelo. *Surprizing Narrative: Olaudah Equiano and the Beginnings of Black Autobiography*. New York: Greenwood, 1987.

Craven, Wesley Frank. *The Legend of the Founding Fathers*. New York: New York University Press, 1956.

Davis, Curtis Carroll. "A 'Gallantress' Gets Her Due: The Earliest Published Notice of Deborah Sampson." *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 91.2 (1982): 319–23.

Davis, Susan G. *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: Temple University, 1986.

Deloria, Vine, Jr. *God Is Red: A Native View of Religion*. Rev. ed. Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing, 1994.

Den Ouden, Amy E. *Beyond Conquest: Native Peoples and the Struggle for History in New England*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.

Derounian-Stodola, Kathryn Zabelle, and James Arthur Levernier. *The Indian Captivity Narrative, 1550–1900*. New York: Twayne, 1993.

Deverell, Mary. "On Reading the Poems of Phillis Wheatley." *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*. Vol. 2. London: n.p., 1781. 268.

Devitt, Amy. "Generalizing about Genre: New Conceptions of an Old Concept." *College Composition and Communication* 44.4 (1993): 573–86.

Dickinson, Emily. "The Soul selects Her own Society." *The Complete Poems of Emily Dickinson*. Ed. Thomas H. Johnson. Boston: Little, Brown, 1960. 143.

Doerflinger, Thomas M. *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

Dreadful Riot on Negro Hill! Boston: n.p., 1816.

Dugaw, Dianne. *Women Warriors and Popular Balladry, 1650–1850*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Dulles, Foster Rhea. *The Old China Trade*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930.

Egerton, Douglas R. *Death or Liberty: African Americans and Revolutionary America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

An Elegy on the Much Lamented Death of the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield. N.p.: n.p., 1770.

Eliot, John. *The Dying Speeches of Several Indians*. [Cambridge?: n.p., 1685?].

Ellet, Elizabeth. *The Women of the American Revolution*. Vol. 1. New York: Baker & Scribner, 1848.

———. *The Women of the American Revolution*. Vol. 2. New York: Baker & Scribner, 1848.

———. *The Women of the American Revolution*. Vol. 3. New York: Baker & Scribner, 1850.

Elliott, Michael. " 'This Indian Bait': Samson Occom and the Voice of Liminality." *Early American Literature* 29 (1994): 233–54.

Ellison, James. "Ode." *Address Delivered Before the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, at the Public Celebration of Their Third Triennial Festival, December 21, 1815*. Boston: n.p., 1816.

Ellison, Julie K. *Cato's Tears and the Making of Anglo-American Emotion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

Elmes-Crahall, Jane. "Deborah Sampson Gannett." *Women Public Speakers in the United States, 1800–1925: A Bio-Critical Sourcebook*. Ed. Karlyn Kohrs Campbell. Westport: Greenwood, 1993. 380–92.

Elrod, Eileen Razzari. *Piety and Dissent: Race, Gender, and Biblical Rhetoric in Early American Autobiography*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008.

Erkkila, Betsy. "Phillis Wheatley and the Black American Revolution." *Feminist Interventions in Early American Studies*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006. 161–82.

Ernest, John. *Liberation Historiography: African American Writers and the Challenge of History, 1794–1861*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Evans, Charles. *American Bibliography: A Chronological Dictionary of All Books, Pamphlets and Periodical Publications Printed in the United States of America from the Genesis of Printing in 1639 Down to and including the Year 1820*. New York: P. Smith, 1903–34.

Evans, Dorinda. "Survival and Transformation: The Colonial Portrait in the Federal Era." *The Portrait in Eighteenth-Century America*. Ed. Ellen G. Miles. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1993. 123–37.

Evans, Elizabeth. *Weathering the Storm: Women of the American Revolution*. New York: Scribner's, 1975.

Ezell, Margaret. *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Fabian, Ann. *The Unvarnished Truth: Personal Narratives in Nineteenth-Century America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Fairbanks, John. *An Address Delivered before the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, December 17, 1812. Being the Anniversary for the Choice of Officers, and the Second Triennial Celebration of the Public Festival*. Boston: Printed by Joseph T. Buckingham, 1812.

Ferguson, Robert. *The American Enlightenment, 1750–1820*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Fliegelman, Jay. *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution against Patriarchal Authority 1750–1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Foner, Philip S. *The History of the Labor Movement in the United States: From Colonial Times to the Founding of the American Federation of Labor*. New York: International Publishers, 1947.

Ford, Worthington Chauncey. Introductory Note. *Broadsides, Ballads Etc. Printed in Massachusetts 1639–1800*. Massachusetts Historical Society, 1922.

Foster, Frances Smith. *Witnessing Slavery: The Development of Ante-bellum Slave Narratives*. 1979. 2nd ed. Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1994.

———. *Written by Herself: Literary Production by African American Women, 1746–1892*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993.

Franklin, Benjamin. *Autobiography and Other Writings*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Freneau, Philip. "Minutes of the Proceedings of the State Legislature." *Massachusetts Magazine; or, Monthly Museum* January 1792, 57–58.

———. "New York, November 29." *Time-Piece* 1 December 1797, 3.

———. "On Deborah Gannett." *Time-Piece* 4 December 1797, 2.

———. *The Poems of Philip Freneau*. Ed. Fred Lewis Pattee. Vol. 3. Princeton: University Library, 1907.

Frey, Sylvia R., and Betty Wood. *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Fridlington, Robert. "A 'Diversion' in Newark: A Letter from the New Jersey Continental Line, 1778." *New Jersey History* 105.1–2 (1987): 75–78.

Frost, John. "Captivity of Jane Brown and Her Family." *Heroic Women of the West: Comprising Thrilling Examples of Courage, Fortitude, Devotedness, and Self-Sacrifice among the Pioneer Mothers of the Western Country*. Philadelphia: A. Hart, 1854. 122–63.

A Funeral Elegy, on the Rev'd. and Renowned George Whitefield, Chaplain to the Right Honorable the Countess of Huntington, &c. who Departed This Life at Newbury-Port, on Sabbath Morning the 30h. [sic] Day of September, 1770. Æt. 56. [Boston?]: n.p., 1770.

Furber, Holden. "The Beginnings of American Trade with India, 1784–1812." *New England Quarterly* 11 (1938): 235–65.

Gannett, Deborah Sampson. *An Addr[e]ss Delivered with Applause, at the Federal-Street Theatre, Boston*. Dedham, Mass.: Mann, 1802.

———. *Diary of Deborah Sampson Gannett in 1802*. Ed. Eugene Tappan. Facsimile. Sharon Public Library. 11 July 1901.

Garber, Marjorie B. *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety*. New York: HarperPerennial, 1993.

Gates, Henry Louis, Jr. *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African-American Literary Criticism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

———. *The Trials of Phillis Wheatley*. New York: Basic, 2003.

Geddes, Gordon E. *Welcome Joy: Death in Puritan New England*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1976.

Genette, Gérard. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Trans. Jane E. Lewin. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Gillespie, Michele K. "Planters in the Making: Artisanal Opportunity in Georgia, 1790–1830." *American Artisans: Crafting Social Identity, 1750–1850*. Ed. Howard B. Rock, Paul A. Gilje, and Robert Asher. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. 33–47.

Gilmore, William J. *Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life: Material and Cultural Life in Rural New England, 1780–1835*. 1989. 1st paperback ed. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992.

Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Goddard, Ives, and Kathleen J. Bragdon. *Native Writings in Massachusett*. 2 vols. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1988.

Goldstein, Thomas. "Ezekiel Russell." *Boston Printers, Publishers, and Booksellers: 1640–1800*. Ed. Benjamin V. Franklin. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1980. 438–42.

Gossett, Thomas F. *Race: The History of an Idea in America*. 1963. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Gould, Philip. *Barbaric Traffic: Commerce and Antislavery in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2003.

Grandjean, Katherine. "'Our *Fellow-Creatures* & Our *Fellow-Christians*': Race and Religion in Eighteenth-Century Narratives of Indian Crime." *American Quarterly* 62.4 (2010): 925–50.

Griffin, Dustin H. *Literary Patronage in England, 1650–1800*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Griffitts, Hannah. Library Company of Philadelphia. Box 2.

Grimsted, David. "Anglo-American Racism and Phillis Wheatley's 'Sable Veil,' 'Length'ned Chain,' and 'Knitted Heart.'" *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*. Ed. Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1989. 338–444.

Gustafson, Sandra M. *Eloquence is Power: Oratory and Performance in Early America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

———. "The Genders of Nationalism: Patriotic Violence, Patriotic Sentiment in the Performances of Deborah Sampson Gannett." *Possible Pasts: Becoming Colonial in Early America*. Ed. Robert Blair St. George. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000. 380–99.

Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989.

Hall, David D. Introduction. *A History of the Book in America*. Vol. 1, *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*. Ed. Hugh Amory and David D. Hall. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. 1–25.

———. "Literacy, Culture, and Authority." *Literacy: Interdisciplinary Conversations*. Ed. Deborah Keller-Cohen. Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press, 1994. 177–91.

———. "The Uses of Literacy in New England, 1600–1850." *Cultures in Print*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996. 36–78.

Halttunen, Karen. *Murder Most Foul: The Killer and the American Gothic Imagination*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Hammon, Briton. *Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings, and Surprizing Deliverance of Briton Hammon, a Negro Man*. Boston: Green and Russell, 1760.

Hammon, Jupiter. "An Address to Miss Phillis Wheatly [sic], Ethiopian Poetess, in Boston, Who Came from Africa at Eight Years of Age, and Soon Became Acquainted with the Gospel of Jesus Christ." *Phillis Wheatley: Complete Writings*. Ed. Vincent Carretta. New York: Penguin, 2001. 204–8.

Hammond, Jeffrey A. *The American Puritan Elegy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Hard Scrabble, or, Miss Philises Bobalition. Boston: [W. Rutter?, 1824?].

Harris, Sharon M. *Executing Race: Early American Women's Narratives of Race, Society, and the Law*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005.

Harvey, Tamara. "'Taken from Her Mouth': Narrative Authority and the Conversion of Patience Boston." *Narrative* 6.3 (1998): 256–70.

Haynes, Lemuel. *A Poem, Occasioned by the Sudden and Surprising Death of Mr. Asa Burt, of Granville; Who Was Mortally Wounded by a Falling Tree, on the 28th of January, 1774, in the 37th Year of His Age, and Expired in a Few Hours after He Received the Wound*. Hartford: Ebenezer Watson, 1774.

Heath, Shirley. *Ways with Words: Language, Life, and Work in Communities and Classrooms*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Heimert, Alan. *Religion and the American Mind: From the Great Awakening to the Revolution*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966.

Henretta, James A. *The Evolution of American Society, 1700–1815*. Lexington: Heath, 1973.

Henry, Stuart C. *George Whitefield: Wayfaring Witness*. New York: Abingdon, 1957.

Higham, John. "Indian Princess and Roman Goddess: The First Female Symbols of America." *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Association* 100.1 (1990): 45–79.

Hiltner, Judith. "'The Example of Our Heroine': Deborah Sampson and the Legacy of Herman Mann's *The Female Review*." *American Studies* 41.1 (Spring 2000): 93–113.

———. "'Like a Bewildered Star': Deborah Sampson, Herman Mann, and *Address, Delivered with Applause*." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 29.2 (1999): 5–24.

———. "'She Bled in Secret': Deborah Sampson, Herman Mann, and *The Female Review*." *Early American Literature* 34.2 (1999): 190–220.

Hopkinson, Francis. *Account of the Grand Federal Procession, Philadelphia, July 4, 1788. To Which Are Added, Mr. Wilson's Oration, and a Letter on the Subject of the Procession*. Philadelphia: M. Carey, printer, 1788.

Howland, John. *An Address Delivered before the Providence Association*. Providence: Jones & Wheeler, 1810.

———. *A Lecture, Read before the Providence Association*. Providence: Wheeler, 1799.

Hudak, Leona M. *Early American Women Printers and Publishers, 1639–1820*. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1978.

Hudson, Nicholas. "From 'Nation' to 'Race': The Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth-Century Thought." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29.3 (1996): 247–64.

Hume, Janice. *Obituaries in American Culture*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2000.

Imbarrato, Susan Clair. *Declarations of Independency in Eighteenth-Century American Autobiography*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998.

"Inventory of the Estate of William Rind." Reprint, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Second Series, vol. 17, no. 1 (Jan. 1937): 53–55.

Isani, Mukhtar Ali. "Phillis Wheatley and the Elegiac Mode." *Critical Essays on Phillis Wheatley*. Ed. William A. Robinson. Boston: G.K. Hall, 1982. 208–14.

Jackson, J. R. de J. *Annals of English Verse, 1770–1835*. New York: Garland, 1985.

Jefferson, Thomas. *Notes on the State of Virginia*. *The Portable Thomas Jefferson*. Ed. Merrill D. Peterson. New York: Viking Penguin, 1975. 23–232.

Johnson, Michael K. *Black Masculinity and the Frontier Myth in American Literature*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002.

Jordan, Winthrop. *White Over Black: American Attitudes Towards the Negro*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968.

Joyce, William Leonard, et al., ed. *Printing and Society in Early America*. Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1983.

J R C S. "The Rise and Destinies of Genius." *Souvenir* 1.20 (1827): 156–57.

Keimer, Samuel. *An Elegy on the Much Lamented Death of Aquila Rose*. Philadelphia: n.p., 1723.

Keller-Cohen, Deborah. "The Web of Literacy: Speaking, Reading, and Writing in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century America." *Literacy: Interdisciplinary Conversations*. Ed. Deborah Keller-Cohen. Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press, 1994. 155–76.

Kennedy, Lawrence W. *Planning the City Upon a Hill: Boston since 1630*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992.

Kerber, Linda K. *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America*. 2nd ed. New York: Norton, 1986.

Kerrison, Catherine. *Claiming the Pen: Women and Intellectual Life in the Early American South*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.

Kierner, Cynthia A. *Beyond the Household: Women's Place in the Early South, 1700–1835*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Kilcup, Karen L. "Writing in the Real World." *Legacy* 25.2 (2008): 193–210.

Kinnan, Mary Lewis. "A True Narrative of the Sufferings of Mary Kinnan." *The Garland*

Library of Narratives of North American Indian Captivities. Vol 21. New York: Garland Pub, 1977.

Kobre, Sidney. *The Development of the Colonial Newspaper*. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1960.

Kollock, Shepard. "A True Narrative of the Sufferings of Mary Kinnan." *Women's Indian Captivity Narratives*. Ed. Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola. New York: Penguin, 1998. 105–16.

Kornblith, Gary J. "'Cementing the Mechanic Interest': Origins of the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers." *Journal of the Early Republic* 8.4 (1988): 355–87.

Kulikoff, Allan. "The Progress of Inequality in Revolutionary Boston." *William and Mary Quarterly* 28.3 (1971): 375–412.

Lambert, Frank. *"Pedlar in Divinity": George Whitefield and the Transatlantic Revivals, 1737–1770*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Lapsansky, Phillip. "Afro-Americana: From Abolition to Bobalition." *Annual Report of the Library Company of Philadelphia for the Year 2003*. Philadelphia: n.p., 2004. 36–49.

———. "Phillis Wheatley, Derision, and Celebration." *Annual Report of the Library Company of Philadelphia for the Year 2000*. Philadelphia: n.p., 2001. 47–51.

Laska, Vera O. *"Remember the Ladies": Outstanding Women of the American Revolution*. Commonwealth of Massachusetts: Bicentennial Commission Publication, 1976.

Lathem, Edward Connery. *Chronological Tables of American Newspapers, 1690–1920*. Barre: American Antiquarian Society & Barre Publishers, 1972.

"The Laughing Philosopher." *The New Foundling Hospital for Wit: Being a Collection of Fugitive Pieces, in Prose and Verse, Not in Any Other Collection. With Several Pieces Never Before Published. A New Edition, Corrected, and Considerably Enlarged. In Six Volumes*. Ed. John Almon. Vol 6. London: Printed for J. Debrett, 1776. 214–15.

Leclerc, George-Louis. *Histoire Naturelle, Générale et Particuliere*. Paris: n.p., 1749–88.

Lemay, Leo. *A Calendar of American Poetry in Colonial Newspapers and Magazines and in the Major English Magazines through 1765*. Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1972.

Leonard, Elizabeth D. *All the Daring of the Soldier: Women of the Civil War Armies*. New York: Norton, 1999.

Leonard, Patrick J. "Ann Bailey: Mystery Woman Warrior of 1777." *Minerva: Quarterly Report on Women and the Military* 11.3–4 (Fall/Winter 1993): 1–4.

Lockridge, Kenneth. *Literacy in Colonial New England: An Enquiry into the Social Context of Literacy in the Early Modern West*. New York: Norton, 1974.

Love, Harold. *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

Love, W. DeLoss. *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians of New England*. Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1899.

Lowance, Mason I., Jr. Introduction. *Massachusetts Broadsides of the American Revolution*. Ed. Mason I. Lowance and Georgia B. Bumgardner. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1976. 1–15.

Lowance, Mason I., Jr., and Georgia Brady Barnhill, ed. *Massachusetts Broadsides of the American Revolution*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1976.

Luckombe, Philip. *The History and Art of Printing*. London: W. Adlard and J. Browne, for J. Johnson, 1771.

Ludwig, Allan I. *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and Its Symbols, 1650–1815*. 1966. Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1999.

Mandell, Daniel R. *Behind the Frontier: Indians in Eighteenth-Century Eastern Massachusetts*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996.

Mann, Herman. *The Female Review: Life of Deborah Sampson, The Female Soldier in the War of the Revolution*. 1797. Introduction and Notes by John Adams Vinton. Boston: J. K. Wiggin & Wm. Parsons Lunt, 1866.

The Manual Exercise, Commonly Called the 64th Exercise. Boston: Fleet, 1776.

Marrant, John. *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, a Black*. 4th ed. London: Printed for the author, by R. Hawes, No. 40, Dorset Street Spitalfields, 1785.

Maruca, Lisa. *The Work of Print: Authorship and the English Text Trades, 1680–1760*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007.

Marx, Anthony. *Making Race and Nation: A Comparison of South Africa, the United States, and Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Mason, Julian, Jr., ed. *The Poems of Phillis Wheatley*. Rev. ed. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.

May, Cedric. *Evangelism and Resistance in the Black Atlantic, 1760–1835*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008.

Mayhew, Experience. *Indian Converts*. London: n.p., 1727.

McGann, Jerome J. *The Textual Condition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Melish, Joanne Pope. *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and "Race" in New England, 1780–1860*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Middlekauff, Robert. *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution 1763–1789*. Rev. ed. Oxford: University Press, 2005.

Milcah Martha Moore's Book: A Commonplace Book from Revolutionary America. Ed. Catherine La Courreye Blecki and Karin A. Wulf. State College: Penn State University Press, 1997.

Minnick, Wayne C. "The New England Execution Sermon, 1639–1800." *Speech Monographs* 35 (1968): 77–89.

Miscellanous Extracts, Chiefly Poetical, Selected from Various Authors; In Order to Facilitate the Moral Improvement of Youth. Ed. Richard Osborne. Northampton, England: n.p., 1792.

Monaghan, E. Jennifer. *Learning to Read and Write in Colonial America*. Amherst: Uni-

versity of Massachusetts Press in association with American Antiquarian Society, 2005.

Moody, Samuel. *A Faithful Narrative of the Wicked Life and Remarkable Conversion of Patience Boston Alias Samson*. Boston: Kneeland and Green, 1738.

———. *Summary Account of the Life and Death of Joseph Quasson, Indian*. Boston: Printed for S. Gerrish, 1726.

Montgomery, Benilde. "Recapturing John Marrant." *A Mixed Race: Ethnicity in Early America*. Ed. Frank Shuffelton. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. 105–15.

———. "White Captives, African Slaves: A Drama of Abolition." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 27.4 (Summer 1994): 615–30.

Mott, Frank Luther. *American Journalism: A History, 1690–1960*. 3rd ed. New York: MacMillan, 1962.

Mr. Occom's Address to His Indian Brethren. Boston: Printed by Thomas and John Fleet, [1773].

Mulford, Carla. *Only for the Eye of a Friend: The Poems of Annis Boudinot Stockton*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995.

Mulroy, Kevin. *Freedom on the Border: The Seminole Maroons in Florida, the Indian Territory, Coahuila, and Texas*. Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 1993.

Municipal Register. Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, 1890.

Murray, David. *Forked Tongues: Speech, Writing and Representation in North American Indian Texts*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991.

Naylor, Robert A. *Penny Ante Imperialism: The Mosquito Shore and the Bay of Honduras, 1600–1914*. London: Associated University Presses, 1989.

Nell, William Cooper. *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution*. Boston: Wallcut, 1855.

Nelson, Dana D. *The Word in Black and White: Reading "Race" in American Literature, 1638–1867*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Nelson, Emmanuel S., ed. *African American Authors, 1745–1945: A Bio-Bibliographical Critical Sourcebook*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000.

The New English Bible. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.

Newman, Andrew. "Captive on the Literacy Frontier: Mary Rowlandson, James Smith, and Charles Johnston." *Early American Literature* 38.1 (2003): 31–65.

Norton, Mary Beth. *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750–1800*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1980.

Nott, Walt. "From 'Uncultivated Barbarian' to 'Poetical Genius': The Public Presence of Phillis Wheatley." *MELUS* 18.3 (1993): 21–32.

Occom, Samson. *The Collected Writings of Samson Occom, Mohegan: Leadership and Literature in Eighteenth-Century Native America*. Ed. Joanna Brooks. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

———. *A Sermon, Preached at the Execution of Moses Paul, an Indian*. New Haven: Printed and Sold by T. & S. Green, 1772.

Okker, Patricia. *Our Sister Editors: Sarah J. Hale and the Tradition of Nineteenth-Century American Women Editors*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995.

Oldham, Ellen. "Early Women Printers of America." *The Boston Public Library Quarterly* 10 (1958): 6–25.

Olton, Charles S. *Artisans for Independence: Philadelphia Mechanics and the American Revolution*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1975.

Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United Stated: From the 1960 to the 1990s*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 1994.

Osborne, Richard. *Miscellaneous Extracts*. Northampton: n.p., 1792.

Page, Margaret Lowther. [Journal and Poems of Margaret Lowther Page.] 1790.

Pasley, Jeffrey L. *"The Tyranny of Printers": Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001.

Patterson, Mark R. *Authority, Autonomy, and Representation in American Literature, 1776–1865*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988.

Pemberton, Ebenezer, and Phillis Wheatley. *Heaven the Residence of the Saints: A Sermon Occasioned by the Sudden and Much Lamented Death of the Rev. George Whitefield, A.M. Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Countess of Huntington: Delivered at the Thursday Lecture at Boston, in America, October 11, 1770. To Which is Added, An Elegiac Poem on His Death, By Phillis, A Negro Girl of Seventeen Years of Age, Belonging to Mr. J. Wheatley of Boston*. 1770. London: n.p., 1771.

Perlman, Selig. *A History of Trade Unionism in the United States*. New York: Macmillan, 1922.

Peyer, Bernd D. *The Tutor'd Mind: Indian Missionary Writers in Antebellum America*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997.

Plummer, Jonathan. *Sketch of the History of the Life and Adventures of Jonathan Plummer, Jun. (Written by Himself)*. Newburyport, Mass: Blunt & March, 1795.

Porter, Dorothy B. "Early American Negro Writings: A Bibliographical Study." *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 39 (1945): 192–268.

Porter, Kenneth W. *The Black Seminoles: History of a Freedom-Seeking People*. Rev. and ed. Alcione M. Amos and Thomas P. Senter. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1996.

Potkay, Adam, and Sandra Burr. *Black Atlantic Writers of the Eighteenth-Century: Living the New Exodus in England and the Americas*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2007.

The Printer in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg: An Account of His Life and His Times, and of His Craft. Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1974.

Rag Linen. "Historical Circulations." http://raglinen.com/education/circulations/.

Rath, Richard Cullen. *How Early America Sounded*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003.

Raynal, Guillaume-Thomas François. *Histoire Philosophique et Politique des Établissemens du Commerce des Européans dans les deux Indes*. Amsterdam: n.p., 1770.

Rediker, Marcus. *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700–1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Reilly, Elizabeth Carroll. *A Dictionary of Colonial American Printers' Ornaments and Illustrations*. Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1975.

Report of the Select Committee of the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers to the Association Submitting a Plan for the Establishment of a Fund, to be Called the Funeral Fund. Providence: J. Carter, 1805.

"Revolutionary Reminiscences." *Army and Navy Chronicle* 16 February 1837, 101–2.

Rice, Grantland. *The Transformation of Authorship in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Richards, Jeffrey H. *Theater Enough: American Culture and the Metaphor of the World Stage, 1607–1789*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1991.

Rigsby, Gregory. "Form and Content in Phillis Wheatley's Elegies." *College Language Association* (1975): 248–57.

Rind, Clementina. "A Bill of Sale from Mrs. Rind to Blair and Others." Collections of the Virginia Historical Society. MSS 2R4715a1.

Riordan, Patrick. "Finding Freedom in Florida: Native Peoples, African Americans, and Colonists, 1670–1816." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 75.1 (1996): 24–43.

Robinson, William H, ed. *Critical Essays on Phillis Wheatley*. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1982.

———. *Phillis Wheatley in the Black American Beginnings*. Detroit: Broadside Press, 1975.

Rock, Howard B. *Artisans of the New Republic: The Tradesmen of New York City in the Age of Jefferson*. New York: New York University Press, 1979.

Roediger, David R. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. Rev ed. London: Verso, 1999.

Round, Philip H. "Samson Occom and Native Print Literacy." *Early Native Literacies in New England: A Documentary and Critical Anthology*. Ed. Kristina Bross and Hilary E. Wyss. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008. 72–83.

Rowlandson, Mary. *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God, Together with the Faithfulness of His Promises Displayed*. 1682. Ed. Neal Salisbury. Boston: Bedford, 1997.

Rush, Benjamin. *An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements in America, Upon Slave-Keeping*. Philadelphia: Printed by John Dunlap, in Market-Street, 1773.

Russell, Benjamin. *An Address Delivered before the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanick Association, December 21, 1809; Being the Anniversary of the Choice of Officers, and the First Triennial Celebration of Their Publick Festival. December 21, 1809*. Boston: John Eliot Jr., 1810.

Russo, Francis X. "John Howland: Pioneer in the Free School Movement." *Rhode Island History* 37.4 (Nov. 1978): 111–22.

Ruttenburg, Nancy. *Democratic Personality: Popular Voice and the Trial of American Authorship*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

Sacks, Peter M. *The English Elegy: Studies in the Genre from Spenser to Yeats*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.

Schenck, Celeste. "Feminism and Deconstruction: Re-Constructing the Elegy." *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 5.1 (1986): 13–27.

Schloesser, Pauline. *The Fair Sex: White Women and Racial Patriarchy in the Early American Republic*. New York: New York University Press, 2005.

Schumann, Abigail, and Barbara Brown. Online Interview. *Colonial Williamsburg Journal*, Spring 2004. http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/spring04/transcript.html.

Seaver, James. *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison*. 1824. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.

Seay, Scott D. *Hanging Between Heaven and Earth: Capital Crime, Execution Preaching, and Theology in Early New England*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2009.

Seelye, John. *Memory's Nation: The Place of Plymouth Rock*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Seeman, Erik R. *Pious Persuasions: Laity and Clergy in Eighteenth-Century New England*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

Sekora, John. "Briton Hammon, the Indian Captivity Narrative, and the African American Slave Narrative." *Where Brer Rabbit Meets Coyote*. Ed. Jonathan Brennan. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2003. 141–57.

———. "Red, White, and Black: Indian Captivities, Colonial Printers, and the Early African-American Narrative." *A Mixed Race: Ethnicity in Early America*. Ed. Frank Shuffelton. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. 92–104.

Shields, David S. *Civil Tongues and Polite Letters in British America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1997.

———. "Eighteenth-Century Literary Culture." *A History of the Book in America*. Volume 1, *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*. Ed. Hugh Amory and David D. Hall. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000. 434–76.

Shields, John C. *The Collected Works of Phillis Wheatley*. Ed. John C. Shields. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

———. *Phillis Wheatley's Poetics of Liberation*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2008.

A Short Account of Moses Paul . . . This Day to be Executed. New Haven: 1772.

Shuffelton, Frank, ed. *A Mixed Race: Ethnicity in Early America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Shurr, William H. "'Now, Gods, Stand Up for Bastards': Reinterpreting Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography*." *American Literature* 64.3 (1992): 435–51.

Sidbury, James. "Slave Artisans in Richmond, Virginia, 1780–1810." *American Artisans: Crafting Social Identity, 1750–1850*. Ed. Howard B. Rock, Paul A. Gilje, and Robert Asher. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. 48–62.

Sistrunk, Albertha. "The Influence of Alexander Pope on the Writing Style of Phillis Wheatley." *Critical Essays on Phillis Wheatley*. Ed. William H. Robinson. Boston: G.K. Hall, 1982. 175–88.

Slauter, Eric. "Neoclassical Culture in a Society with Slaves: Race and Rights in the Age of Wheatley." *Early American Studies* 2.1 (2004): 81–122.

Smith, Mary. *An Affecting Narrative of the Captivity and Suffering of Mrs. Mary Smith*. Providence: L. Scott, 1815.

Smith, MaryAnn Yodelis. "William M'Alpine." *Boston Printers, Publishers, and Booksellers: 1640–1800*. Ed. Benjamin V. Franklin. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1980. 358–60.

Smith, Philip Chadwick Foster. *The Empress of China*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Maritime Museum, 1984.

Smith, Samuel Stanhope. *An Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species*. Philadelphia: Aitken, 1787.

Sobel, Mechal. "The Revolution in Selves: Black and White Inner Selves." *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America*. Ed. Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel, and Fredrika J. Teute. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. 163–205.

Sollors, Werner. *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Stabile, Susan M. *Memory's Daughters: The Material Culture of Remembrance in Eighteenth-Century America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Stannard, David E. *The Puritan Way of Death: A Study in Religion, Culture, and Social Change*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Starling, Marion Wilson. "The Slave Narrative: Its Place in American Literary History." PhD diss., New York University. 1946.

Starr, Paul. *The Creation of the Media: Political Origins of Modern Communications*. New York: Basic Books, 2004.

Stone, Edwin M. *The Life and Recollections of John Howland, Late President of the Rhode Island Historical Society*. Providence: George H. Whitney, 1857.

Swales, John. *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Sweet, John Wood. *Bodies Politic: Negotiating Race in the American North, 1730–1830*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Tappan, Eugene. Preface and notes. *Diary of Deborah Sampson Gannett in 1802*. Ed. Eugene Tappan. Facsimile. Sharon Public Library. 11 July 1901.

Thomas, Isaiah. *The History of Printing in America, with a Biography of Printers, and an Account of Newspapers*. Ed. Marcus A. McCorison. New York: Weathervane Books, 1970.

Thorn, Jennifer. "Phillis Wheatley's Ghosts: The Racial Melancholy of New England Protestants." *Eighteenth Century* 50.1 (2009): 73–99.

Tinker, George E. *American Indian Liberation: A Theology of Sovereignty*. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2008.

Tyler, Lyon Gardiner, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography*. Vol. 2. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1915.

VanDerBeets, Richard, ed. *Held Captive by Indians: Selected Narratives 1642–1836*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1973.

Vietto, Angela. *Women and Authorship in Revolutionary America*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2005.

Vinton, John. Introduction and notes. *The Female Review: Life of Deborah Sampson, The Female Soldier in the War of the Revolution*. By Herman Mann. 1797. Boston: J. K. Wiggin & Wm. Parsons Lunt, 1866.

Virginia Gazette. (John Dixon and William Hunter). 1775–78.

Virginia Gazette. (John Pinkney). 1774–76.

Virginia Gazette. (Alexander Purdie and John Dixon). 1766–75.

Virginia Gazette. (Clementina Rind). 1773–74.

Virginia Gazette. (William Rind). 1766–73.

Vollaro, Daniel. "Sixty Indians and Twenty Canoes: Briton Hammon's Unreliable Witness to History." *Native South* 2 (2009): 133–47.

Waldstreicher, David. *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Wallace, Maurice O. *Constructing the Black Masculine: Identity and Ideality in African American Men's Literature and Culture, 1775–1995*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.

Wallis, Lauren. "'To Form a New World, New Systems Create': Margaret Lowther Page's Poetic Revisions of Women's Roles in the Early Republic." MA thesis, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 2010.

Walsh, Richard. *Charleston's Sons of Liberty: A Study of the Artisans 1769–1789*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1959.

Warner, Michael. *Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Weir, Robert M. "The Role of the Newspaper Press in the Southern Colonies on the Eve of the Revolution: An Interpretation." *The Press and the American Revolution*. Ed. Bernard Bailyn and John B. Hench. Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1980. 99–150.

Wesley, Charles. *Hymns and Sacred Poems*. London: n.p., 1739.

———. *To the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield*. Boston: n.p., [177?].

West, Benjamin, and Nathanael Low. *Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack, for the Year of Our Redemption, 1782 . . . Fitted for the Meridian of Boston, N.E. Lat. 42′ 25° N. Long. from London 69′ 27° W. [sic].* Boston: Printed by E. Russell, at his printing-office in Essex-Street, near Liberty-Stump, South-end, 1781. (Pr. 7 d. single, 1781.)

Weyler, Karen A. *Intricate Relations: Sexual and Economic Desire in American Fiction, 1789–1814*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2004.

———. "Literary Labors and Intellectual Prostitution: Fanny Fern's Defense of Working Women." *South Atlantic Review* 70.2 (2005): 96–131.

Wheatley, Phillis. *The Collected Works of Phillis Wheatley*. Ed. John Shields. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

———. *An Elegiac Poem, on the Death of That Celebrated Divine, and Eminent Servant of Jesus Christ, the Reverend and Learned George Whitefield*. Boston: Ezekiel Russell, 1770.

———. *An Elegy, Sacred to the Memory of the Great Divine, the Reverend and Learned Dr. Samuel Cooper*. Boston: Ezekiel Russell, 1784.

———. *An Elegy, to Miss Mary Moorhead, on the Death of her Father, The Rev. Mr. John Moorhead*. Boston: William M'Alpine, 1773.

———. "Goliath of Gath: 1 Sam. Chap XVII." *Juvenile Magazine* 1 Aug. 1813, 50–57.

———. "An Hymn to the Morning." *Juvenile Magazine* 1 Aug. 1813, 21–22.

———. "On Messrs. Hussey and Coffin." *The Newport Mercury* 14 Dec. 1767, 3.

———. "On the Death of J.C. and Infant." *Juvenile Magazine* 1 Aug. 1813, 20–21.

———. "On the Death of the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, 1770." *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*. 8th ed. Vol. 4. New York: Norton, 2012. 767–68.

———. *Phillis's Poem on the Death of Mr. Whitefield*. Boston: Isaiah Thomas, 1770.

———. *Phillis Wheatley: Complete Writings*. Ed. Vincent Carretta. New York: Penguin, 2001.

———. *The Poems of Phillis Wheatley*. Ed. Julian Mason Jr. Rev. ed. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, Press, 1989.

———. *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*. London: A. Bell, 1773.

———. "Proposals for Printing by Subscription." *Boston Censor* 29 Feb. 1772, 2.

———. "Recollection." *London Magazine* 41 (March 1772): 134–35.

———. *To Mrs. Leonard, on the Death of Her Husband*. Boston: n.p., 1771.

———. *To the Hon'ble Thomas Hubbard, Esq. on the Death of Mrs. Thankfull Leonard*. Boston: n.p., 1773.

———. *To the Rev. Mr. Pitkin, on the Death of his Lady.* Boston: n.p., 1772.

Wheatley, Phillis, and Margaretta Matilda Odell. *Memoir and Poems of Phillis Wheatley, a Native African and a Slave*. Boston: Published by Geo. W. Light, 1834.

Wheeler, Roxann. *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.

Whitchurch, Samuel. *The Negro Convert, a Poem Being the Substance of the Experience of Mr. John Marrant, a Negro, As Related by Himself, Previous to His Ordination, at the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapel, in Bath, on Sunday the 15th of May, 1785, Together with a Concise Account of the Most Remarkable Events in His Very Singular Life*. Bath: S. Hazard, 1785.

Wilcox, Kirstin. "The Body into Print: Marketing Phillis Wheatley." *American Literature* 71.1 (Mar. 1999): 1–29.

Williams, Daniel E. *Pillars of Salt: An Anthology of Early American Criminal Narratives*. Madison: Madison House, 1993.

———. "Reckoned To Be Almost a Natural Fool: Textual Self-Construction in the

Writings of Jonathan Plummer—No Hermaphrodite." *Early American Literature* 3.2 (1998): 149–72.

Winslow, Ola Elizabeth. *American Broadside Verse From Imprints of the 17th & 18th Centuries*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930.

Winterer, Caroline. *The Mirror of Antiquity: American Women and the Classical Tradition, 1750–1900*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007.

Woodward, Donna Dene. "With All the Grace of the Sex." *Colonial Williamsburg Journal*, Spring 2004. http://www.history.org/Foundation/journal/Spring04/women.cfm.

Woolson, Wendy. "The Business of Broadsides." In *The Annual Report of the Library Company of Philadelphia for the Year 2002*. Philadelphia: n.p., 2003. 18–31.

Wright, Merideth. *Everyday Dress of Rural America, 1783–1800*. New York: Dover, 1992.

Wyss, Hilary. *Writing Indians: Literacy, Christianity, and Native Community in Early America*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000.

Yoder, Don. *The Pennsylvania German Broadside: A History and Guide*. University Park, Pa.: Published by the Pennsylvania State University Press for the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Pennsylvania German Society, 2005.

Young, Alfred F. *Masquerade: The Life and Times of Deborah Sampson, Continental Soldier*. New York: Knopf, 2004.

———. "Revolutionary Mechanics." *Working for Democracy: American Workers from the Revolution to the Present*. Ed. Paul Buhle and Alan Dawley. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985. 1–9.

Zafar, Rafia. *We Wear the Mask: African Americans Write American Literature, 1760–1870*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

Zboray, Ronald J. *A Fictive People: Antebellum Economic Development and the American Reading Public*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Ziff, Larzer. *Writing in the New Nation: Prose, Print, and Politics in the Early United States*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1991.

Zobel, Hiller B. *The Boston Massacre*. New York: Norton, 1970.

Index

abolition, 42, 68–69, 75, 97, 105; publications, 67
Acadians, removal of, from Nova Scotia, 79
Adams, John, 51, 171
Adams, John Quincy, 153–54
Adams, Louisa Catherine, 156
Addison, Joseph, 60
Aeolus, 41
African Americans, 20, 233; and authorship, 5–28, 62, 67–68, 74–75, 79, 83–84; education of, 44, 85–87, 103–4; and evangelical Christianity, 106–7, 110–12, 136; racial intimidation of, 68–73
African Lodge (Boston), 26, 97, 113, 206
Afro-British identity, 8, 95
Agnew, Jean-Christophe, 160
Aitken, Jane, 170
Alden, John, 153
Aldridge, William, 20, 78, 97, 98–99, 103, 104; collaboration of, with Marrant, 104–5, 111
Allen, Richard, 68
amanuenses, 2, 42, 83–84, 163
American Antiquarian Society, 217
American Museum, 150
American Revolution. *See* Revolution, American
Amory, Hugh, 235–36n4
Anderson, Benedict, 226, 235n3
André, John, 217
Andrews, William L., 84, 89
Anglicanism, 8, 106
anti-Catholicism, 82–83, 95
anti-manufacturing bias, 225
Antony, 129–30
Apess, William, 116; *A Son of the Forest*, 130, 258n116
Apprentices' Library (New York), 208
apprenticeships, 5, 169, 170, 214, 217, 226, 228, 271n25; for African Americans, 86; for printers, 165–70, 208; for women, 270n15. *See also* Buckingham, Joseph Tinker; Howland, John; Marrant, John; Russell, Benjamin
Archimedes, 227
Arminianism, 46
Arnold, Benedict, 215
Associated Housewright Society, 208

Bailey, Ann, 146, 163, 264n5
Balkun, Mary, 56
Banneker, Benjamin, 26
Barlow, Joel, 223
Bath Chapel, 20, 78, 98, 102, 111
Bennett, Paula, 43, 59, 245–46n87
Bercovitch, Sacvan, 133
Berlin, Ira, 93, 252n47
Bhabha, Homi K., 256n106
Bible, 8, 10, 30, 31, 103, 107–8, 118–19, 126, 213, 233; traditional literacy based on, 213, 216; translated into Native languages, 119
—references to: Genesis, 140, 143; Hebrews, 112; Isaiah, 102; Luke, 141; Mark, 107, 108, 255n104; Psalms, 219; Romans, 136, 139
Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack, 1, 19, 72, 75, 82; edition of, published by Ezekiel Russell, 63–64, 246n95
Bland, Richard, 178
Bloch, Ruth, 149

Bobalition, 28, 68–75
book publication, by subscription, 4, 9, 28, 38, 62, 236n7, 258n18; and *The Female Review* subscribers, 157
booksellers, 13, 30, 62, 172, 210; catalogs of, 67
Boreas, 41
Bosco, Ronald A., 131
Boston, 1, 13, 19, 26, 27, 38–47 passim, 55, 56, 60–75 passim, 77, 159, 224; financial stratification of, 209; population of, 66, 243n60; as site for publication of captivity narratives, 82, 96
Boston, Patience, 121–24, 231
Boston Censor, 51, 65, 243nn62–63, 244–45n70
Boston Courier, 216
Boston Evening-Post, 55, 251n36
Boston Gazette, 27, 149, 243n62
Boston Magazine, 60–61
Boston Massacre, 37, 51, 243–44n64
Boston Port Bill, 185
Boston Post-Boy, 251
Boston Tea Party, 185–86
Botein, Stephen, 217
Bouwman, Heather, 118
Bowden, Elizabeth, 194
Bradford, William, 153, 214, 266n30
Bradstreet, Anne, 62, 201; and elegy, 57, 239n13; manuscript circulation of, 11
Brady, Nahum, 61
Brandon, Stephen, 255n103
Breen, T. H., 4, 150, 236n9, 267n45
Brigham, Clarence S., 168, 198
British Empire, 3, 43, 78, 91, 105, 113, 144, 187, 191
broadside elegies, 31–37; for Whitefield, 43–55. *See also* elegies
broadsides: defined, 28–29; history of, in Colonies, 28–30; as mementos, 10, 32, 47; political, 35, 37; published collections of, 238n5; sales of, 19, 21; and urban sociability, 30; uses of, 30–31
Brodhead, Richard, 4, 236n8, 248–49n1
Brooks, Joanna, 27, 126, 206, 238n1, 259n29
Brooks, Lisa, 126, 259n33
Bross, Kristina, 128, 129
Brown, Charles Brockden, 4
Brown, William Hill, 231
Bryant, William Cullen, 224
Buckingham, Joseph Tinker, 23, 165, 206, 213, 215–19; apprenticeship of, 216; education of, 216, 223
—works of: *Address*, 222–23; *Personal Memoirs*, 216, 218–19; *Specimens of Newspaper Literature*, 216
Buffon, Comte de, 223
Bumgardner, Georgia, 31, 35
Burnham, Michelle, 109, 249n4
Burr, Sandra, 254n72
Byrd, William, 11

Calvinism, 46
Cameron, Sharon, 13
capital punishment, 130–31, 135, 136, 257n5, 261n46, 262n81
captivity narratives. *See* Indian captivity narratives
Carey, Mathew, 150
Carlisle, David, 216
Carretta, Vincent, 81, 246n94, 250n4; *Phillis Wheatley*, 40, 62, 238n1, 240nn31–32, 241n41, 247n102, 254n71
Castiglia, Christopher, 88, 89
Catholicism, 95, 96; anti-Catholicism, 82–83, 95
Cato, 60
Cavitch, Max, 27, 59, 60, 66, 72
Chamberlain, Ava, 260n36, 261n64
Chartier, Roger, 278n33
chastity, 147–50, 158, 160, 163. *See also* virtue
Cherokee tribe, 20, 97, 98, 101, 105, 249n3; Marrant's evangelizing among, 107–9, 110–11, 255n103, 256n105
Child, Lydia Maria, 171
Chiles, Katy, 262n75
Christ, 52, 101–12 passim, 123, 129, 136, 141, 240n22, 255n103
Christian consumption, 105, 134, 232
Christianity, evangelical, 8, 19–20, 21, 26, 27; Marrant as devotee to, 99–103, 105–13; Occom as devotee to, 115–17, 125–27, 134–44;

and Wesley, 45–46; Wheatley, Phillis, as devotee to, 39–40, 56–59. *See also* Whitefield, Rev. George
Church, Dr. Benjamin, 46
citizen-soldiers, 145, 150
Clark, Charles E., 177, 181, 192, 271n25
coauthorship, 42; Marrant and Prince Hall, 97. *See also* collaborative authorship; corporate-sponsored authorship
Cohen, Daniel, 131, 132, 261n55, 261n57
Cole, Thomas, 225
collaborative authorship, 2–3, 4, 6–10, 21, 23, 38, 71, 87, 119; of captivity narratives, 82, 84
—collaborative pairings: Aldridge and Marrant, 19–20, 98–99, 103–4; Mann and Sampson, 147, 152, 158–59; Moody and Patience Boston, 122
College of William and Mary, 187, 198–99, 269n2
Columbia, 145, 148, 223. *See also* Sampson, Deborah
Columbus, Christopher, 223
Committee of Five, 171
confession of faith, 128–29
Congregationalism, 119, 120
consumption: Christian, 105, 134, 232; and consumer goods, 50; female, as political act, 187–88, 189
Continental Army, service in: by Howland, John, 213; by Russell, Benjamin, 217; by Sampson, 146, 149, 264n3, 265n11, 267n46
Cook, Moses, 135, 136
Cooper, Dr. Samuel, 246n92; elegy for, 61–62, 65
Cooper, Thomas, 211
Copeland, David A., 173, 272n37
corporate-sponsored authorship, 23, 97, 220–21; defined, 205–6
Costanzo, Angelo, 249n4
Craven, Wesley Frank, 153
criminal confessions, 29, 61, 122, 143, 232, 233; of Boston, Patience, 122–24
Crocker, Hannah Mather, 222
Cromwell, Oliver, 129
cross-dressing, 146–49, 160, 264–65n9
Crouch, Mary, 194
cultural capital, 1, 5, 18, 28, 77, 157, 204, 232; Christianity as form of, 96, 113; defined, 236–37n11
Cushing, Deborah, 41
Cutty-a-toy, 249

Davis, James, 202
Davis, Susan G., 210–11
deathbed confessions, 128. *See also* Dying Indian speeches
Deloria, Vine, 259n28
Democratic-Republican Club, 206
Democratic-Republican politics, 151
Den Ouden, Amy, 119, 259n28, 259n33
Derounian-Stodola, Kathryn Zabelle, 251n17, 252n40
Deverell, Mary, 247n104
Devitt, Amy, 89
Dickinson, Emily, 11, 13, 274n79
Dickinson, Susan Gilbert, 274n79
Dickman, Thomas, 216
Dixon, John, 173, 178, 179–81, 184, 190, 201, 271n35; obituary of, for Clementina Rind, 199; obituary of, for William Rind, 174
double-voicing, 142
Douglass, Frederick, 24, 75, 125, 236n8
Dreadful Riot on Negro Hill!, 69–72
Dugaw, Dianne, 154
Dunmore, Right Hon. John, 183, 269n5
Dustin, Hannah, 154
Dying Indian speeches, 117–18, 128–30, 143, 260n44

East India Company, 188
East Indies, trade with, 185, 186, 271n21
education. *See* literacy, acquisition of
Edwards, Jonathan, 140
Egerton, Douglas, 269n3
elegies, 9–10, 13, 19, 21, 26–29, 74; broadside, 31–37, 43–55; eighteenth-century style of, 35–37, 39, 44–45, 55–63, 66; and memento mori images, 32, 47, 137; Puritan, 31–35; for Rind, Clementina, 199–201. *See also* Wheatley, Phillis; Whitefield, Rev. George

Eliot, John, 119, 129–30
Ellet, Elizabeth, 148–49, 268n62
Elliot, Michael, 127
Ellis, William, 163
Ellison, James, 223, 224–25
Ellison, Julie, 37, 60
Elrod, Eileen Razzari, 249n2, 256n114, 256n121
Erkkila, Betsy, 156,
evangelical empire, 21, 77, 105, 113, 114–15, 130, 144, 205; defined, 19, 232–33
Evans, Charles, *American Bibliography*, 235n4
execution sermons, 8, 9, 21, 117–18, 132–34; audience for, 132–33, 134; and Christian consumption, 134; Occom's revision of, 128, 129, 135–43; publication of, 132–33; Puritan, 130–32

Fairbanks, John, 221, 279n59
fatherhood, as political metaphor, 52
Federalists, 151–52, 217
Federal Street Theatre, 159
Ferguson, Robert, 243nn61–62
Fern, Fanny, 171
First Congregational Church (New Haven), 134
Fliegelman, Jay, 52, 244n65
Foner, Eric, 276n8, 276n10, 276n13
Force, Peter, 163
Forefather's Day, 153–54
Foster, Frances Smith, 249–50n4
Fourth of July celebrations, 68–69, 212
Fowle, Zachariah, 8
Franklin, Ann Smith, 169, 170
Franklin, Benjamin, 65, 171, 173, 208, 214, 226, 227; *Autobiography and Other Writings*, 12, 18, 169–70, 270n8; as printer 165, 239n9, 270n8, 278n54
Franklin, James, 169
Franklin, James, Jr., 169
Franklin, William, 12
Freemasons, 26, 97, 113, 174, 202, 206–7, 210; origin story of, 221–22; 279n59
French and Indian War. *See* Seven Years' War
Freneau, Philip, 22, 150–52, 157, 163, 224, 264n4; "The British Prison Ship," 151; "On Deborah Gannett," 151–52
Frey, Sylvia, 106
Frost, John, 249
Fuller, Margaret, 171

Gage, Thomas, 198
Gannett, Benjamin, 150, 163
Gannett, Deborah Sampson. *See* Sampson, Deborah
Garber, Marjorie B., 160
Garden of Eden, 221–23
Gates, Henry Louis, Jr., 67, 71, 112, 238n1, 245n71, 248n109, 255–56n105
Geddes, Gordon, 31
gentility, 71–75, 162, 171; wit as marker of, 42; writing skills as marker of, 86–87
George III (king), 50–52, 242n44
Gillespie, Michele, 276n7, 277n12
Gladding, Benjamin, 214–15
Goddard, Mary Katherine, 194
Goldsmith, Oliver, 61
Grand Federal Procession, 210
Grandjean, Katherine, 141, 262n81
Gray, Thomas, 61
Great Awakening, 106, 134; as bringing Christianity to outsiders, 116, 125–26, 127
Green, Anne Catharine, 172
Green, Jonas, 172
Green, T. and S. (printers), 135
Green and Russell (printers), 82, 84
Griffin, Dustin, 236n7
Griffitts, Hannah, 44, 57, 241–42n44
Grimsted, David, 240n28, 240n32, 245n70, 247n98
Gustafson, Sandra, 265n9, 267n38

Habermas, Jürgen, 77
Hale, Sarah Josepha, 171
Hall, David D., 6, 8, 237n14, 258n13, 260n36
Hall, Prince, 26, 68, 97, 206
Halttunen, Karen, 134, 263n88
Hamilton, Dr. Alexander, 12

Hammon, Briton, 5, 18, 19, 21, 26, 30, 75–97, 104, 128, 232; authorship of, 83–88; and captivity genre, 81–84, 88–91, 152; *Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings and Surprizing Deliverance of Briton Hammon, a Negro Man*, 77–103; profession of Protestantism by, 93–95, 108, 110, 145; servitude of, 79–81, 249–50n4, 250n10
Hammon, Jupiter, 26, 30, 67
Hammond, Jeffrey, 32, 57, 58
Hancock, John, 65, 246n95
Hard Scrabble, or Miss Philises Bobalition, 72–73
Harris, Sharon, 85, 88, 257n5
Harvard College, 56, 59, 67, 221, 240n31, 245n78
Hastings, Selina, 8, 100, 105, 106, 111; as patroness of Phillis Wheatley, 38, 53, 246n94, 248n119
Haynes, Lemuel, 26, 30, 44, 242n45
Heimert, Alan, 153
Henretta, James, 252n47
Henry, Stuart, 240n27, 242n48
Herbert, Phebe, 194
Herzberg, Bruce, 56
Higham, John, 155–56
Hiltner, Judith, 159, 264n4, 264–65n9, 268n53
Hopkins, Samuel, 214, 239n7, 254n71
Hopkinson, Francis, 210
House of Burgesses, Virginia, 173–75, 202, 269n2, 269n5
House of Representatives, U.S., 221, 267n46
Howland, Capt. John, 91
Howland, John, 23, 84, 204, 206, 209, 210, 220–22, 231; as advocate for public education, 228–29; apprenticeship of, 213–14; as barber, 214–15; biography of, 213–15; defense of artisans by, 226–28; education of, 214
—works of: *Address*, 225–27; *Lecture*, 224
Hudak, Leona M., 193, 202
Hudson, Nicholas, 248n124, 253n54
Hume, Janice, 197
Huntingdon, Selina, Countess of. *See* Hastings, Selina
Huntingdon Connexion, 20, 78, 97, 98, 101, 111, 113, 118; and sponsored authorship, 8, 13, 98, 100, 105
importation protests, 204, 227, 244, 269, 275
impressment, 5, 74, 94, 98, 112
indenture, 74, 122–23, 217, 233, 276n8; of Apess, 130; of Boston, Patience, 120–22; Buckingham, 216; of Sampson, 148
Indian captivity narratives, 7, 19–20, 30, 62, 88; as accessible genre for outsiders, 2, 9, 21, 76–78; Boston as publishing site of, 82; collaborative authorship of, 82–85, 87, 97–98, 104–5; typical themes of, 88–91, 92–93, 95, 108, 256n105. *See also* Hammon, Briton; Marrant, John
Industrial Revolution, 224
Isani, Mukhtar Ali, 27, 241n37

Jacksonian America, 230
Jefferson, Thomas, 151, 173, 202, 225; member of Committee of Five, 171
—works of: *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 67; *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*, 165, 171
Jemison, Mary, 130, 260n45
jeremiad, 143, 263n88
Jesus. *See* Christ; Resurrection
Johnson, Joseph, 260n36
Johnson, Michael K., 110, 249n4
John the Baptist, 107
Jonson, Ben, 184
Jordan, Winthrop, 248
Judaism, 139, 225
Junto, 208
Juvenile Magazine, 105

Keller-Cohen, Deborah, 7, 8, 237n14
Kerber, Linda, 264n8
Kerrison, Catherine, 193, 274n69
Kierner, Cynthia A., 188, 272–73n49
Kilcup, Karen, 274n79
King Philip's War, 6, 81, 132
Kinnan, Mary, 84, 90
Knickerbocker, 67
Kornblith, Gary, 275n2
Kulikoff, Allan, 209, 211

labor, 4–5, 12, 68, 74, 121, 168, 185, 244n64, 272–73n49, 277n12; artisan, 205–7, 211–13, 225, 229–30; enslaved, 77, 79, 81, 105, 123, 249–50n4, 276n7; of printing, 171–72, 177, 193, 202, 218–19, 234; productive vs. unproductive, 23, 211–12
Lambert, Frank, 47, 50, 243n58
Lapsansky, Phillip, 69, 71, 248n115
Lathem, Edward Connery, 235n4
Lathrop, Mary Wheatley, 65
Lazarus, 94, 110, 253n66
Leonard, Elizabeth, 263–64n2
Leonard, Thankfull, 34, 55, 59
Levernier, James, 251n17, 252n40
Liberator, 67
Liberty (goddess), 148, 155, 156, 163
literacy, acquisition of, 1, 2–3, 6–8, 44, 77, 192–93; by African Americans, 85–86, 103–4; by apprentices, 86, 228; by Boston, Patience, 121–24, 231; by Mohegan children, 125–26; by Native Americans, 85, 117–21, 125–26, 140–41; by Quasson, 121–22, 125, 126; by white men, 85–86, 166; by women, 85, 86–87, 189, 193, 234. *See also* Buckingham, Joseph Tinker; Howland, John; Marrant, John; Occom, Samson; Rind, Clementina; Russell, Benjamin; Sampson, Deborah; Wheatley, Phillis
literacy, functional understanding of, 8, 42–43
literacy events, 28, 38–44, 114; mechanic-society sponsored, 205–6, 212, 219–30
Livingston, Robert, 171
Lockridge, Kenneth, 85
Lord's Prayer, 110
Love, Harold, 11, 12
Lowance, Mason, Jr., 29, 35, 238n5
loyalists, 5, 36, 65; black, in Nova Scotia, 97, 100, 113
Luckombe, Philip, 196
Ludwig, Allan, 32, 239n14

Machiavelli, 149
Madison, Dolley, 156
Madison, James, 151
M'Alpine, William, 65, 246–47n97
Mamusse Wunneetupanatamwe Up-Biblum God, 119
Mandell, Daniel, 121, 122, 260n37
Mann, Herman, 22, 163, 264–65n9, 266n36; collaboration of, on *Address Delivered with Applause*, 158–62; *The Female Review*, 146, 147, 148, 152–54, 157–58, 263n1, 266n25, 268n53
Manning, James, 215
Manual Exercise, The, 161
Manual of Arms, 159
manuscript circulation. *See* scribal publication
Marrant, John, 5, 8, 19, 26, 68, 76–78, 95, 232; apprenticeship of, 104, 105–6; childhood of, 97–98; conversion experience of, 105–7; education of, 103–4; military service of, 98; ministry of, 97, 99–103, 105–13; and race, 105, 110–12. *See also* Christianity, evangelical; collaborative authorship; Indian captivity narratives
—works of: *A Journal of the Rev. John Marrant*, 82, 113; *Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings*, 19–20, 77, 81, 103–13; *A Sermon Preached*, 113
Martha's Vineyard, 119, 120
Maruca, Lisa, 33
Maryland Gazette, 172, 272n43
Mason, Julian, 240n28, 241n35, 245n70, 246n88, 247n102
Masons. *See* Freemasons
Massachusett language, 119, 120, 258n9
Massachusetts Bay Colony, 6, 11, 128, 129; laws of, 261n46
Massachusetts Centinel, and the Republican Journal, The, 217
Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, 213, 217, 220, 222, 223, 227; founding of, 211
Massachusetts Magazine, 150
Massachusett tribe, 119
Mather, Increase, 62
May, Cedric, 244–45n70
Mayflower, 216

Mayflower Compact, 214
Mayhew, Experience, 121, 126, 258n15
Mayhew, Thomas, 119
McGann, Jerome, 9, 33
Mechanic Library Society (New Haven), 208
mechanic societies, 13; mission of social uplift, 23, 206, 208–9, 228–29; Newport Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers, 206, 226; origins, 206–12; publications of members, 8–9, 23, 205, 219–28. *See also* literacy events; Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association; Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers
Melish, Joanne Pope, 57, 72, 79
memento mori images, 32, 47, 137
Methodists, 45, 98, 105
Middlekauff, 242n4, 243–44n64
Milcah Martha Moore's Book, 12, 241–42n44
Milton, John, 62, 71
Minnick, Wayne C., 133, 260n44, 261n51, 261n56, 263n86
Mohegan, Conn., 125–26, 259n29
Mohegan Indians v. Connecticut, 126, 139, 259n33
Mohegan tribe, 5, 20, 114, 125–26, 127, 259nn29–30
Monaghan, E. Jennifer, 6, 86, 120, 258n9; and sign literacy, 273–74n67; and teaching of writing, 86–87, 120, 251n30
Monomoy, Mass., 121
Monomoyick tribe, 121
Montgomery, Benilde, 110, 279n66
Moody, Reverend Samuel, 20, 122; *A Faithful Narrative of the Wicked Life and Remarkable Conversion of Patience Boston Alias Samson*, 122–25; *Summary Account of the Life and Death of Joseph Quasson, Indian*, 122, 125
Moore, Milcah Martha, 12, 44,
Moorhead, John, 61, 246n92
Morton, Sarah Wentworth, 68
Mott, Frank, 269n3
mourning practices, Puritan, 31–35; and memento mori images, 32, 47, 137
Mulford, Carla, 39, 42
Municipal Register (Boston), 243n60, 247n99
Murray, David, 122, 129
Murray, Judith Sargent, 4, 68

National Gazette, 151
Native American tribes: Massachusett, 119; Monomoyick, 121; Pequot, 126; Wampanoag, 119–20, 135. *See also* Cherokee tribe; Mohegan tribe
Naylor, Robert, 252n49
New-England Courant, 35
New England Galaxy and Masonic Magazine, 216
New England Primer, 216
New Light theology, 116
Newman, Andrew, 87
Newport Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers, 206, 226
Newport Mercury, 40, 214
newspapers, 2, 9, 22, 84, 132; captivity accounts in, 77, 82; circulation statistics for, 173, 183, 272n44, 272n65; delivery of, 174; *Newport Mercury*, 40, 214; numbers of imprints of, 3; subscriber-generated content for, 42, 179, 181, 184, 187, 188, 189, 197, 198; subscriptions for, 167, 173, 175, 176, 177, 178, 181, 183, 185, 190, 191, 196, 272n44, 273n65; *Time-Piece*, 150–52, 260n4. See also *Boston Censor*; *Virginia Gazette*
—advertisements in, 1, 5, 10, 22, 172–78 passim, 183–84, 195–97, 272n43; for Briton Hammon's captivity narrative, 87; for Phillis Wheatley's work, 38, 46, 51, 61, 65
—readers of: direct audience, 192–93; indirect audience, 192–95
New-York Journal, 56
New-York Weekly Journal, 177–78
nonimportation agreements, 244n64, 269n2, 275n4
Norton, Mary Beth, 264n8
Nott, Walt, 27, 67
Nova Scotia, 79, 97, 100, 102, 105, 108, 112, 113

Occom, Samson, 5, 8, 20–21, 40; criticism by, of alcohol use, 132, 142–43; education of, 125–26; ministry of, 114–16, 127. *See also* execution sermons
—works of: *A Choice Collection*, 115; *A Sermon*, 114–16, 127, 134–44, 232; "A Short Narrative," 116, 125–26
Odell, Margaretta, 41, 66, 247n102
Okker, Patricia, 171
Oldham, Ellen, 269n4, 271n23
Old Light theology, 136
Old South Church (Boston), 56, 59, 63, 246n94
Olton, Charles, 207, 213, 275n4, 276n10
orations: Howland's *Address* and *Lecture*, 224, 225–27; Russell's *Address*, 227; Sampson's *Address Delivered with Applause*, 159–62. *See also* Buckingham, Joseph Tinker: works of
Osborn, Sarah, 214, 240n32, 247n98
Osgood, Samuel, 229
Otis, James, Jr., 65, 246n95
outsider authors, defined, 4–6, 233

Page, Jane, 197–98
Page, John, 13, 18, 197–98, 202
Page, Margaret Lowther, 13–18
pamphlet publication, 2, 21, 30, 61, 76, 82, 84, 95, 113, 133, 144, 234; mechanic society, 205, 210, 220–28
Parsons, Jonathan, 37
Pasley, Jeffrey L., 217–18
patriotism, 5, 23, 68, 152, 186, 233, 263–64n2; of Hammon, Briton, 94; mechanics, 204–6, 212, 225–27; of Rind, Clementina, 180, 187–89; of Sampson, 21–22, 145, 146–48, 152, 154–57, 160; of Wheatley, Phillis, 39, 41, 51–55, 65
Paul, Moses, 8, 21, 117, 132, 134–43, 232; education of, 140
Pennsylvania Magazine, 65
Pennsylvania Packet, 182
Pequot tribe, 126
Perlman, Selig, 276n10
Peyer, Bernd, 258n8, 259n27, 259n33
Pilgrims, 153–54
Pinkney, John, 196; as editor of *Virginia Gazette*, 199–202, 274n81; related to William Rind, 174
Plummer, Jonathan, 26, 44–45, 238n2, 242n46
Plymouth, Mass., 91, 93, 252n50
Plymouth Colony, 79, 153, 214, 266nn29–30, 278n32
poetry: local, 42–43, 55; newspaper, 39–42, 151–52, 184; of Page, Margaret Lowther, 13–18. *See also* elegies; Freneau, Philip; Plummer, Jonathan; Wheatley, Phillis; Whitchurch, Samuel
Pope, Alexander, 62, 71
Porter, Dorothy, 255n94
Potkay, Adam, 254n72
Potter, Tobit, 120–21, 231
Pratt, Mary Louise, 88
Presbyterianism, 118
Preston, Thomas, 51
printers, 8, 12, 29–30, 35, 38, 61–63, 65, 165–66, 202–3, 204, 209; of captivity narratives, 82; class status of, 210, 217–19; emergence of split between, and publishers, 217–19; of execution sermons, 131, 134; as family business, 168–70, 174; female, 166, 168–72, 234; financial difficulties of, 175–78; role of, in designing, marketing, and titling texts, 79, 82–83, 91, 137. *See also* Buckingham, Joseph Tinker; Franklin, Benjamin; labor; Mann, Herman; Pinkney, John; Rind, Clementina; Rind, William; Russell, Benjamin; Russell, Ezekiel; Thomas, Isaiah
Protestantism: importance of, to publication for outsiders, 77, 88, 90, 95–96; influence of, on reading instruction, 85
Providence, R.I., 72, 157, 204, 208, 214, 215, 225, 228–29. *See also* Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers
Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers, 210, 212–13, 215, 221, 224–25, 226–27; support of, for publication education, 228–30
publishers, 4, 30, 63, 134, 163, 164, 170, 171, 178, 189, 192; emergence of split between, and printers, 217–19. *See also* printers

Purdie, Alexander, 173, 178, 179, 180, 181, 184, 190, 201, 271n35; obituary of, for Clementina Rind, 199; obituary of, for William Rind, 174
Puritan mourning practices. *See* mourning practices, Puritan

Quasson, Joseph, 121–22, 125, 126
Quincy, Hon. Josiah, 221

Rag Linen, 272n44
Rath, Richard Cullen, 92–93
Raynal, Abbé, 233
Rediker, Marcus, 211, 252n48
Reilly, Elizabeth Carroll, 273n62
Relly, John, 46
Republicanism, 37, 146–47, 150
Republican womanhood, 187–89
Resurrection, 59, 108, 232
Revere, Paul, 163, 220, 267n46, 277n29
Revolution, American, 5, 21–22, 37, 65, 78, 98, 145–50 passim, 153–56, 160, 162, 166; activities of mechanics during, 204–6, 208, 218; effect of, on printing volume, 3, 10
Rhode Island Almanack, 169
Rhode Island Historical Society, 215, 278n37
Rice, Grantland, 38
Richards, Jeffrey H., 160, 268n62
Richardson, Ebenezer, 43, 51
Richmond, William, 229
Rigsby, Gregory, 27, 246n89
Rind, Clementina, 10, 22–23, 84, 233, 234; as author, 195–99; death of, 199; editorial policies of, 167, 174–81; as editor of *Virginia Gazette*, 167–68, 171–72, 174–95; elegies for, 199–201; as poet, 201; as print shop owner, 166; revolutionary politics of, 185–91. See also *Virginia Gazette*
Rind, William, 22, 166; death of, 173; as editor of *Virginia Gazette*, 173–74, 182–83; estate of, 173–74, 177; as Freemason, 174, 202; as partner with Jonas Green, 172; professional relationship of, with Jefferson, 171–73; relocation of, to Williamsburg, 173. See also *Virginia Gazette*
Rittenhouse, David, 226–27
Robinson, William, 41, 71, 244n70, 248n109
Rock, Howard, 275n5
Roediger, David, 5, 276n8
Round, Philip, 258n9
Rowlandson, Mary, 6, 90, 108, 117
Rowson, Susanna, 4
Royal Navy, 112
Rush, Rebecca, 170
Russell, Benjamin, 23, 165, 206, 213, 219, 220; *Address*, 227; apprenticeship of, 217; career of, as printer, 216–17; education of, 217; military service of, 217
Russell, Ezekiel, 48, 49, 63–65, 239n8, 243n53, 246n95

Sampson, Deborah, 4, 5, 7, 21–22, 84, 95, 233; *Address Delivered with Applause*, 159–62; back pay of, for military service, 150; biography of, 152–58; as Columbia embodied, 154–56, 233; cross-dressing of, 146–49, 160, 264–65n9; genealogy of, 153–54; military pension of, 159, 163; military service of, 146–49; use of male interlocutors by, 22, 150–52, 157–58; virtue of, 145, 148–49. *See also* Mann, Herman: *The Female Review*; patriotism
Scammel, Col. Alexander, 37
Schenck, Celeste M., 57–58, 245n79
Schloesser, Pauline, 263n1
Scott, Frances, 84, 90
scribal publication, 3–4, 10–18, 35, 39, 55; defined, 11
Seaver, James, 260n45
Seay, Scott D., 131, 140, 261n46, 262n81
Seeman, Erik R., 129
Seider, Christopher, 51, 243nn61–62, 243–44n64
Sekora, John, 83, 89, 249n4, 250n16, 252n41
sermons, 97, 103, 113, 114–16, 218, 232; and access to print, 21, 144; and canon formation, 26, 30; funeral, 44, 45, 113; rhetorical patterns in, 140. *See also* execution sermons; Marrant, John; Occom, Samson
Seven Years' War, 3, 18, 19, 77–78, 82, 95, 96, 269n3

Sherman, Roger, 171
Shields, David, 237n25; on sociability, 12, 39, 201
Shields, John C., 67, 246n94, 247n102, 248n109
Shurr, William, 237n30
Sidbury, James, 276n7
Sigourney, Lydia, 224, 275n88
Slauter, Eric, 248n120
slavery, 20, 56–58, 67–69, 74, 79, 104–6, 108, 113, 143, 224; advertisements concerning, 1, 183. *See also* labor: enslaved
Smith, Adam, 60
Smith, Anne, 146
Smith, MaryAnn, 247n97
Smith, Samuel Stanhope, 44, 253n54
Snell, Hannah, 154, 265n9
Sobel, Mechal, 152–53
sociability, 10–12, 30, 39–40, 201, 209–10, 215
Solomon (king), 221, 279n59
South Carolina Gazette, 188, 189, 272n43
Spanish Empire, 5, 19, 88, 91, 110, 223, 253n55; in Cuba, 78–79, 92–96
Spanish language, 253
sponsored writing, 2, 4, 8, 13, 23–24, 40, 75, 84, 113, 157, 205; corporate, 205–6, 220; defined, 6. *See also* collaborative authorship
Stabile, Susan, 57
Stamp Act, 51, 172, 173, 205, 269n3
Standish, Miles, 153, 266n29
Stannard, David E., 32, 239n11, 240n17
Starling, Marion, 249n4
Starr, Paul, 273n65
Stockton, Annis Boudinot, 12, 39, 44, 45, 68
Stoddard, Solomon, 128
Stone, Edwin M., 213–15, 277n29, 278n32, 279n58, 279n72, 280n83
Stone, Joseph, 22, 154–55, 157, 266n36
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 75
Sweet, John Wood, 71, 248n110

Tappan, Eugene, 265n10
Terry, Lucy, 84
theatrum mundi, 160–62
Thomas, Isaiah, 8, 53, 54, 63, 165, 173, 192, 217, 235n4
Thompson, James, 62
Thorn, Jennifer, 58
Tiffany, Consider, 36, 240n24
Time-Piece (New York newspaper), 150–52, 260n4
Timothy family of printers, 169–70, 194
Tinker, George, 259n28
Tory. *See* loyalists
Townsend Acts, 166, 269n3
Tucker, St. George, 13, 18

United States: embodied, 148, 155–56; mechanics' role in, 223–25, 227–28, 230; symbols associated with, 155
University of South Carolina, 211

Vietto, Angela, 237n23, 267n49
Vinton, John, 266n29
Virginia Gazette, 1, 10, 22, 165–66, 172–99; advertisements in, 167, 172–78 passim, 183–84, 190, 192, 194–97; antagonism toward Britain in, 185–89; local news in, 173, 198–99; origin of name, 173; poetry in, 184–85, 187–89, 199–201; subscriber-generated content in, 178–79, 181, 184, 187, 188, 189, 197, 198; subscribers to, 167, 175–78, 181, 183–85, 191–93. *See also* Dixon, John; newspapers; Purdie, Alexander; Rind, Clementina; Rind, William
virtue, 145, 148–49, 167, 189, 225, 230
Vobe, Jane, 184, 272n49
Vollaro, Daniel, 250n15, 252–53n51, 253n55

Waldstreicher, David, 69, 248n110, 277n22
Walker, David, 116
Wallis, Lauren, 238
Walsh, Richard, 269–70n6, 276–77n12
Wampanoag, 119–20, 135
Warden, William, 217
Warner, Michael, 235n2
War of Austrian Succession, 250n12
War of Jenkins' Ear, 91
Warren, Joseph, 37
Warren, Mercy Otis, 68

Washington, George, 65, 209, 210, 213, 246n95
Watts, Isaac, 61, 103, 107
Weir, Robert M., 173, 272n43, 273n64
Wesley, Charles, 242n48; elegy of, for Whitefield, 45–47; hymns of, 242n49
Wheatley, John, 5; death of, 65
Wheatley, Nathaniel, 65
Wheatley, Phillis, 4, 5, 10, 13, 18–20, 24; and broadside elegies, 31–37, 43–55; gentility of, 42, 71–75; image of, in *Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack*, 19, 63–65; reputation of, after death, 66–75; as symbol of black potentiality, 18, 25, 26, 68. *See also* elegies; literacy events; sponsored writing
—works of: *An Elegiac Poem on the Death of . . . George Whitefield*, 35–36, 37, 45–55; *An Elegy Sacred to . . . Dr. Samuel Cooper*, 61, 63; *An Elegy to Miss Mary Moorhead*, 55, 60, 61, 63; "On Being Brought from Africa to America," 53; "On Messrs Hussey and Coffin," 39–43; "On the Death of Dr. Samuel Marshall," 55; "On the Death of General Wooster," 60; "On the Death of Mr Snider Murder'd by Richardson," 43, 55; "On the Death of Rev.'d Dr. Sewall. 1769—," 43; *Phillis's Poem on the Death of Mr. Whitefield*, 53, 54; *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*, 27, 28, 38–39, 53; "Recollection," 41; "To Mr. and Mrs. ——, on the Death of Their Infant Son," 60; *To Mrs. Leonard, on the Death of her Husband*, 55; *To the Hon'ble Thomas Hubbard, Esq.*, 55, 59; "To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1768," 51; *To the Rev. Mr. Pitkin, on the Death of his Lady*, 55, 59; "To the Right Honourable William, Earl of Dartmouth," 56, 74; "To the University of Cambridge," 53
Wheatley, Susannah, 66, 72, 248n119; death of, 65; sponsorship of Phillis Wheatley by, 19, 37–40, 46, 63, 66, 240n28
Wheeler, Roxanne, 248n124, 253n54, 262n75
Wheelock, Eleazar, 118, 126, 257n7, 263n85
Whig politics, 172
Whitchurch, Samuel, 110, 254n73; *The Negro Convert*, 98–103, 111; relationship of, with Huntingdon Connexion, 98
Whitefield, Rev. George, 10, 63; and Christian consumption, 47, 232; colonial ministry of, 97, 99, 106, 242n48, 246n94; death of, 37, 240n27; elegized by Wesley, 45–46; elegized by Wheatley, Phillis, 9, 19, 21, 28, 32, 35–38, 43, 45–55, 56, 63, 65, 114–15; as father figure to colonies, 52–53
Wilcox, Kirstin, 27, 55, 238n3, 240n28, 244n70
Williams, Daniel, 124, 131, 133, 238n2, 242n46
William the Conqueror, 154
Wilson, Harriet, 24
Winslow, Edward, 79
Winslow, John, 79–81, 87, 91, 94, 96, 250n4, 250n12
Winslow, Ola Elizabeth, 28, 31, 238n5, 239n11
Winterer, Caroline, 156, 265n18, 267n42
Winthrop, John, 129, 230
Wood, Betty, 106
Wood, Sally Sayward Barrell Keating, 4
Woodbridge, John, 11
Woolson, Wendy, 238–39n5, 239n9
Wooster, David, 60, 65, 239n7
Wooster, Mary, 239n7, 246n88
Wray, Fanny, 197
Wright, Meredith, 267n43
Wright, Susanna, 44
Wyss, Hilary, 120–21, 258n15

Yoder, Don, 280
Young, Alfred, 151–52, 217, 263n1, 266n24, 266n26, 266n30, 266n36, 275n3; on artisan republicanism, 212

Zafar, Rafia, 89
Zboray, Ronald, 236n6
Zenger, John Peter, 177–78
Zobel, Hiller B., 243–44n64